United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

17th PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 5 October 1993
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE EL-HASSAN BIN TALAL, CROWN PRINCE OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear a statement by the Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

His Royal Highness Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal, Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have pleasure in welcoming the Crown Prince of Jordan, His Royal Highness Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Prince EL-HASSAN BIN TALAL: I should like at the outset to extend to you, Mr. President, my sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election. I should like to wish you and the other members of the General Committee success in the discharge of your important duties. I had a chance to congratulate the President of the Assembly at its last session when I saw him in Amman, and I should now like to reiterate my gratitude for his competent presidency.

The cold war may be over, but its death-knell reverberates around the globe. The comforting ideological certainties of super-Power confrontation are long gone. What have we to replace them? The new world order, with its promise of peace through collective security, has come upon a baptism of fire. And still it would appear that no common frame of reference, no new consensus, no global ethic, has emerged.

As we enter the new millennium, we see the human spirit under siege as never before. Across the world, the voices of millions cry out in desperation for relief, for guidance. If we, the peoples of the United Nations, are to be true to our humanity, we must reappraise this situation that is of our own making. We must learn its lessons, no matter how hard, and we must apply them. It is our task today, and in the days to come, to fashion principles and practices for a truly new world order. In all fields of human endeavour, we need a new ethic for a new era.

The balance of world power politics has given way. Ethnic nationalism has re-emerged, a phenomenon in which the unifying bond of common citizenship is replaced by racial or religious exclusivity. As a consequence, we face a series of apparently endless wars of attrition, fought to secure the domination of one ethnic nationalism over another. This trend must be reversed if our world is to be made safe from the spreading contagion of conflict.

Many over the years have thought it impossible, but the Middle East is bucking this alarming trend. The signing on 13 September of the Palestinian-Israeli declaration of principles represents a significant step

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

93-86752 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.17
5 October 1993

ENGLISH

towards the achievement of a negotiated settlement in our troubled region.

On the Jordanian-Israeli track, a common agenda, which has been carefully worked out over the last year and a half, has now been adopted. We trust that this will signify the commencement of serious and substantive negotiations on the various elements of that agenda, with the aim of achieving just and mutually satisfactory solutions.

These developments are a triumph not only for the politics of consensus, but also for the international morality which the United Nations advocates and the legality it upholds. Over the years the Assembly has passed resolution after resolution calling for a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question that lies at its core. Finally, the main actors are playing the leading part in shaping their own destinies.

My country has always sought to bring this prolonged and bitter conflict to an end, and in our search for solutions we have constantly aimed to reconcile peace and justice. Jordan has advocated a negotiated settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) longer than any other party. Under the new arrangements, all parties to the conflict are committed to the implementation of those resolutions, affirming a cardinal principle of international law: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

There is an equally important principle to bear in mind, however. Peace cannot be piecemeal. It must be comprehensive if it is to be viable. As foreseen in the Madrid framework for the peace talks, some issues cannot be addressed by any two parties to the exclusion of others. The questions of regional security, water and above all the refugees cannot be resolved without direct reference to the neighbouring States. The status of Jerusalem has to be determined in a similar way. The legitimate rights which the three great monotheistic faiths share in the Holy City must be guaranteed and claims of political and administrative sovereignty accommodated to the satisfaction of all.

In view of Jordan's long association with the Palestinian question, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)-Israeli agreement will have major implications for our legitimate interests. At a time when new entities are being formed, an orderly transfer of power and authority is vital. Only this can safeguard the rights of existing States and those of individuals. There are questions to address about State property, archives, debts, treaties, nationality, salaries, pensions - the list is long, but not exhaustive. Jordan will seek modalities for their resolution with the relevant parties through our agenda.

The refugee question is of paramount importance. It should not, and must not, be forgotten that the individuals affected have under international law a right of return and compensation, and their host countries are likewise entitled to compensation. Jordan has shouldered an enormous human load as a result of the conflict. Three waves of involuntary migrants - the refugees of 1948, the evacuees of 1967 and the returnees of 1991 - have sought shelter and succor in Jordan. Our treatment of these and other displaced persons has been exemplary. We have provided them with education and health services, with jobs and welfare. Citizens of Jordan, whether of Palestinian or Jordanian origin, enjoy civil and human rights equally and participate as equals in our democratization process. Jordan seeks an equitable, sustainable international approach to the treatment of our demographic burden, for it would be unconscionable to penalize host countries for their humanitarian policies.

Another crucial issue is water. Our agenda strikes a delicate balance between the need for optimal utilization of scarce resources, on the one hand, and the equally imperative need to define the rights and duties of riparian States, on the other. We also look forward to definitive delineation of our borders with Israel, thereby giving concrete expression to the right of every nation to live in secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

When the euphoria has subsided, these serious and complex questions will remain. The PLO-Israel accord, historic as it is, represents a first step towards Palestinian final status, which in turn will allow the Palestinians to take part in comprehensive regional security and cooperation arrangements. For the Middle East cannot be reduced to a single issue. It more closely resembles a tapestry woven of numerous intertwining threads.

One of these wider regional issues - the suffering of the Iraqi people - demands urgently to be addressed. A succession of independent reports has brought to light the special impact of continued sanctions upon the most vulnerable segments of Iraqi society - in particular, the children. The sanctions regime that daily takes its toll on the people of Iraq also has adverse consequences for neighbouring States, including Jordan and Turkey. Issues such as this must be resolved if the Middle East is to seize

its chance for lasting peace. A cooperative security system will help to protect the security of the States and peoples of the region. We can only avert the kind of destabilizing conflict that followed the end of the cold war in Eurasia by making arrangements to ensure our common future, underpinned by the full support of the international community.

Despite these outstanding questions, I have no doubt that the extraordinary achievements of the autumn of 1993 will be seen in years to come as the start of a fresh course in the settlement of regional conflicts. The politics of dialogue and reconciliation have been our regional and domestic priorities, for they are essential to the democratic process. We seek to extend the principles of consensus and collective security to the Middle East to create a new regional order, an order which recognizes the right of each individual to lead a life free from fear, want and despair, an order which will provide justice to all peoples and security to all States, an order in which the United Nations and its agencies can play a positive role not only in humanitarian intervention or the protection of human rights, but in active peace-keeping and peacemaking.

Jordan applauds Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali for his valiant efforts to overhaul the United Nations structure and personnel, injecting a fresh sense of purpose commensurate with the new challenges. It is in the interests of all Members of this body to see international law respected and upheld. We must all assist the Secretary-General in determining the criteria for United Nations intervention, whether in Lebanon, Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, Angola, Cambodia or anywhere else. The terms of reference embodied in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter must be clearly defined, with checks and balances approved to avoid the erosion of the independence and territorial sovereignty of Member States. There is also an urgent need for well-trained international peace-keeping forces, which could be established under a reconstituted Military Staff Committee. The *modus operandi* for all United Nations action, irrespective of the issue at hand, must be the supremacy of the rule of law and the uniformity of its application. Double standards should not and must not be permitted, lest abuse of the law become the accepted norm.

A wider issue concerning this Organization is that of Security Council reform. Jordan adds its voice to the host of countries that have called for a reassessment of the structure of the Security Council. Clearly, conditions in the world have changed dramatically since the formation of the Council, and we believe that these should be reflected in its composition. Jordan also lends its support to the Secretary-General's proposals for post-conflict peace-building outlined in his "An Agenda for Peace".

For in every part of the world peace will remain illusory unless it touches the daily lives of ordinary people. Peace will not take root except in an environment conducive to regional cooperation and mutual security and committed to the welfare of individual human beings. The development of economic infrastructure and provisions for investment in public services are as crucial as the questions of territorial sovereignty, national identity and security. It is for this reason that Jordan welcomes the recently convened conference to support Middle East peace as both timely and pragmatic. The peace dividend in my region, as elsewhere, must put an end to the politics of deprivation, fear and despair, the breeding ground for political extremism and rejection.

The disparities and distortions created by half a century of conflict in the Middle East have given rise to such phenomena. That is undeniable. However, there is considerable alarm in the Muslim world at suggestions that Islam may replace communism as a global threat. These suggestions are informed by a skewed perception of Islam as a monolithic creed of violence, intolerance and oppression.

Islam is not the new enemy. Extremism does exist within the Muslim world, much as it exists in the Christian world, the Jewish world, the Hindu world and the secular world. But to employ reductive stereotypes which demonize one fifth of the world's population must ultimately be self-defeating. It can only result in the breed of senseless violence that has brought untold suffering and loss of life to Bosnia. Rather than seeking an enemy at the gates, let us each in our own communities look inwards and address the disparities and the despair that are the true causes of extremism and conflict. Let us join together to do battle with the real enemy.

That enemy is a new world of "each for himself". That is what we must combat, with all the resources at our disposal. For the politics and economics of exclusivity are the bane of both pragmatism and idealism.

Is the triple pillar of democracy, human rights and the free market the ceiling of our ambition? Democracy and free market economics are exceptionally successful systems with noble objectives. But they are not ends in themselves. The end for which we all strive is greater

peace and greater justice for individual human beings across the world. How is this to be achieved?

One of our strongest defences against a new world of "each for himself" would be a new global business ethic, applying not only among the developed nations, but also between those nations and the developing countries. Such an ethic might prescribe a relationship of partnership which would in turn encourage greater self-reliance. Such an ethic would be wholly reconcilable with human rights, with pluralism, with care for the environment and with basic religious values. I would like to suggest that the key to a new ethic in all of these areas is our mutual interdependence.

Whatever the context, injustice is perceived and conflict results when the gap between "self" and "other" seems larger than the common ground. This fundamental split between "me" and "you", between "us" and "them", is at the root of all oppositions, all polarities, all conflicts. Recognition of our mutual interdependence requires us to acknowledge the uniqueness of each individual and each culture - even into the broader environment - and to learn to live with the differences as with the commonalities. It requires that we strive for unity, but never seek to eradicate or compromise diversity. It requires a new thinking based on tolerance and compassion - a humane approach and respect for the voices of others. It requires, in short, that we be true to the ideals that fired the founders of this Organization when they wrote the words: "We the peoples of the United Nations".

Herein lies the nexus between peacemaking, human rights, pluralism, cultural heritage and business ethics. Here lies the key to a new world of "all for each other", not "each for himself".

The Middle East is showing the way. Its conflict, once held to be the most intractable on Earth, is now on the path to reconciliation and healing. As we enter a new millennium, a new era, let the world take heart from our example. Let us emerge together from the past and together let us build our brave new world.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for the statement he has just made.

His Royal Highness Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal, Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. AROSEMENA (Panama) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Please accept my warmest congratulations, Sir, upon your election to preside over the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. I am certain that your election will contribute to its success.

This session of the General Assembly takes place two years before we are to celebrate the Organization's fiftieth anniversary. We long had to navigate through the stormy waters of the cold war and ideological confrontation. It was not an easy task. However, today's world is different from that of the signatories of the United Nations Charter. East-West *détente* has given us renewed hopes, though we have still not won the war against poverty and social marginalization. Our main goal should be to make those hopes a reality, if we wish to build a society where not only a just peace but peaceful justice prevail.

Obviously, the reorganization of the Security Council is not an easy task, and it becomes even more difficult if we take into account the fact that, since the very moment the San Francisco Charter was signed, the Council has been made up of permanent and non-permanent members, and that the right of veto extended to the permanent members has given rise, among other things, to their being accused, with some justification, of attacking the principle of the legal equality of States.

The Republic of Panama is of the opinion that if the Security Council is to be reorganized, the reorganization must be carried out in such a way that the representation on the Council of all United Nations Members is equitable. Therefore, any reorganization must promote fair participation for the developing States, as the situations that used to be given as explanations for the way the Council was composed and for the right of veto have disappeared now that there is East-West *détente*.

Drug addiction has become the main scourge of humanity. The Republic of Panama, like all States, therefore has the duty to repress drug trafficking and the resulting money-laundering activities on its territory, and to help repress these illegal activities in all States. Panama, aware of these responsibilities and of the fact that the effective repression of drug-related crimes makes international cooperation necessary, on 11 April 1991 Panama and the United States of America signed a Treaty on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Affairs, which was ratified by the Panamanian Legislative Assembly on 11 July 1991. The Treaty is currently awaiting the consent of the United States Senate before the effects we expect from it can begin to be felt.

On 1 March 1993, Panama and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland signed the Agreement on Mutual Legal Cooperation on Drug Trafficking, which must first be approved by the Panamanian Legislative Assembly before it too can be ratified. In addition, and at Panama's request, the Central American countries have agreed to sign a similar treaty, which will be opened to accession by all the Latin American countries. Also, the Panamanian Executive Branch has submitted the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances to the Panamanian Legislative Assembly for its consideration; we are convinced that, once it is ratified, we shall have at our disposal a valuable instrument in our struggle against drug-related crime.

Human rights and fundamental freedoms do not come as a generous concession from a State or its authorities. They are inherent to the human person, regardless of political, social, racial, religious or any other factor. Those rights and freedoms are therefore inseparable, and must be recognized and respected. The fact that those rights and freedoms are inherent to the human person affords them a universality and indivisibility that must be strengthened.

Violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms do not only attack the person whose rights and fundamental freedoms have been trampled on; they also attack institutional stability, the constitutional order and the rule of law. This is so because the person whose rights and freedoms have been disregarded is inclined towards insurrection or at least towards personal revenge, the private vengeance of the eye-for-an-eye principle.

Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, or violations of them, must therefore be examined not only as a problem that affects individual interests but rather in a much wider context, as a problem that affects society in general. This is why most of the insurrections, rebellions and fratricidal conflicts have their origins in violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms to the detriment of large swathes of the population. Such violations often stem from a lack of democracy, from the absence of the rule of law, from extreme poverty and from social marginalization.

While on the subject of lack of democracy, I wish to state that, under the United Nations Charter, a purpose of this Organization is

> "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ...".

In conformity with the principle of self-determination, all countries can adopt the form of government that best suits them. However, by allowing dictatorial regimes to exist, the international community takes away all the principle's force.

The thing is that sovereignty - and the same can be said of self-determination - can be harmed otherwise than by the acts of outside States. They can also be violated by a State's own nationals, when they place themselves above the popular will, as has often occurred; dictatorships have disregarded just this principle of self-determination and have so violated human rights. This is so because the only source of public power is the people.

When a dictatorship disregards the principle of self-determination or the peoples' sovereignty - which occurs every time a people is denied its inalienable right to adopt the form of government that best suits its interests - it violates sovereignty, and the principle of self-determination, inasmuch as the State's power to act does not have its source in the people: it has its source in those who hold public power with no more legitimacy - if it can be called "legitimacy" - than the force of arms. In addition, when a dictatorship disregards human rights, it deprives the inhabitants of the State, the people, from whom sovereignty and self-determination flow, of rights that every State must accord its citizens simply because they are human persons. I have allowed myself to briefly address the principle of self-determination because I am convinced that a clear understanding of this principle will contribute towards strengthening its legal force, to the benefit of democracy and the rule of law.

The situation Haiti is going through is worrying. The Governors Island Agreement provides that, by the 30th of this month, the constitutional President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, must once again occupy the presidential throne. However, the de facto Government would appear to be more intent on provoking violence than promoting the re-establishment of the constitutional order. Since 3 July, 11 people have been given their quietus, including the pro-democracy activist Antoine Izmeri, whose struggle merits recognition throughout the Americas.

The Republic of Panama believes that the agreement between the constitutional Government and the chief of the Haitian Army must be fulfilled, and hopes that the

Organization, striving to live up to the principles that inspire it, will ensure that it is.

Recognition of the State of Israel within secure and recognized borders and the establishment of a Palestinian State are acts of justice restored which international peace and security make essential. Therefore, the Republic of Panama cannot be indifferent to the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on 13 September, or to the agreement on provisional autonomy for the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Since the formation of the State of Israel, Israelis and Palestinians have been victims of all the damage that incomprehension and intolerance can cause. The confrontational relationship between these two peoples blinded by hatred is summarized in the 45 years of tears, pain and death. However, the wars and exoduses of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973, with their consequences of grief and suffering, should now serve as evidence of the benefits of peace. Therefore, a peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians should become a goal for the United Nations.

The atmosphere of *détente* to which I have already referred should foster the universality of representation in this multilateral Organization. Consequently I am gratified to see that many States that have never traditionally had an active international life, such as Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino - to mention only a few States enclaved in the European continent - have felt the need to join and support us in the important tasks we are resolved to accomplish. It is in that spirit of universality that Panama has supported and continues to support the initiative designed to study now and in the future, with innovative ideas and goodwill, the situation of the largest human group that has no voice in this body: the 21 million inhabitants of the island of Taiwan.

The Central American countries are striving to build a peaceful, free, democratic and developing region. For that reason, the efforts to bolster peace that have been initiated require actions capable of solving our economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems in order to strengthen our peoples' faith in democracy.

The endeavours to achieve democracy, national reconciliation and development in the region are obvious. But in order to continue making these efforts we require the cooperation of all States that believe in democracy, justice and freedom. Therefore, associating myself with the initiative presented by the Ibero-American Heads of State and Government in Salvador, Brazil, I call on States and international organizations to cooperate effectively with the Central American Integration System (SICA) so that it can promote and strengthen sustained subregional cooperation and attain its fundamental goal.

The ability of we who inhabit the vast territories south of the Rio Bravo to communicate with each other and with Spain in the same language - a Nicaraguan poet once called them the countries that love Christ and speak Spanish - has created an Ibero-American community which today, in meetings of Heads of State and Government, and together with Brazil and Portugal, is determined to focus its strength on the future, guided by the desire to take full advantage of the similarities which bring us together to consolidate opportunities for cooperation and solidarity.

This should be gratifying to the whole of the Ibero-American community, since our faith in the future is becoming increasingly obvious at each Summit. The first Summit, in Guadalajara, created the forum of Heads of State and Government; at the second and third Summits, in Madrid and Salvador, respectively, we saw the initial results of these commendable initiatives. It is also appropriate here to note that the Final Document of the third Summit states:

> "Without prejudice to the spheres of competence of specialized international forums, the United Nations General Assembly should focus its international development cooperation policy on securing greater access for developing countries to world markets, adequate forms of finance and modern technology. This will make it possible to overcome the obstacles to development and, while benefiting the developing countries, will also open up economic opportunities for the industrialized countries, thereby easing the migratory pressures exerted on them by those legitimately seeking ways to improve their standard of living." *(A/48/291, para. 14)*

I would feel most fortunate if the General Assembly were to listen attentively to the demands of the Ibero-American community, which feels that most of the products of its member States have been repeatedly denied increased access to markets which have been traditionally accessible, as in the case of bananas in the European Community, as well as access to financing and modern technology. For our part, the Ibero-American States should be resolved to put our financial situations in order and not depend on the marketing of a few products, and we should improve the quality of our educational systems, in order to attain greater economic stability. The Ibero-American

countries should also resolve to turn the cooperation and solidarity mentioned in the Final Document into sincere and honest cooperation and solidarity, and not mere rhetoric, as is so often the case. Only in that way will we be able to profit to the full from the affinities that we share.

Panama will be the host country of the Summit of the Ibero-American Heads of State and Government in the year 2000. This event will unquestionably have great significance for my country. It will take place precisely at a time when the Panamanian people have attained their most important legal and political objective: recovering their rights over the Panama Canal and freeing their territory from the jurisdictional limitations imposed by the ill-fated Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty. That is so because the present Panama Canal Treaty will expire on 31 December 1999. Consequently, the Republic of Panama will then manage, operate and maintain the Panama Canal. All the real estate, fixture improvements and equipment that the United States of America will be using until the end of the validity of the Treaty will revert to Panama. One of the Panamanian people's greatest wishes will thus come true on 31 December 1999.

However, as important as achieving this legal and political objective may be, it is the good or bad use we make of the Canal and the areas that revert to us that will mark our future in a positive or negative way. Thus, it is our duty as a nation to manage the Canal wisely and to use in the best possible way the areas that revert to us.

For that reason Law No. 5 of 1993 created the Authority of the Panamanian Interoceanic Region, with the objective of improving the use of the assets that are reverting and will revert to Panama between now and the year 2000. Similarly, on 6 September 1993 a draft bill for constitutional reform was submitted to the Panamanian Legislative Assembly; it is designed to add a new article to Panama's political Constitution which will create the Panama Canal Authority, whose main function will be to manage and operate the Canal. That will ensure that the Authority will not be affected by any political shifts. Thus, the Republic of Panama is preparing to manage, operate and maintain the Panama Canal from 31 December 1999. This task will be all the easier because the current Canal Administrator, and 87.7 per cent of the Panama Canal Commission employees are Panamanians, not counting those with dual nationality.

On the basis of the Panama Canal Treaty, Panama and the United States agreed in 1982 to create the Preparatory Commission to prepare the points of reference for the feasibility studies of a sea-level canal in Panama and other alternatives to the Panama Canal. They also agreed to invite Japan to be a full member of this Commission, an invitation Japan accepted. These three States created the Commission for the Study of Alternatives to the Panama Canal.

On 20 September last, this Commission presented its final report, a Joint Statement of Commission Members, which indicates that the "current Panama Canal with the widening of the Gaillard Cut seems to be able to meet the needs of international maritime trade until the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century. However," the statement continues, "before the year 2000 measures should be taken to prepare the canal for the time when the current Panama Canal will not be able to take care of the projected traffic." Such measures include "future studies to firmly establish the dates when improvements will become necessary in order to start planning the required environmental studies involved in the final engineering design and the initiation of the construction".

According to the aforementioned report, the results of the study indicate that the alternative of high-level locks, with one lane of maritime traffic at the Gaillard Cut, operating jointly with the current canal and capable of handling ships of 200,000 dead-weight tonnage, is marginally feasible.

In order to handle the projected traffic with the same efficiency during the twenty-first century as it has been handled since the opening of the Canal on 15 August 1914, if not with even greater efficiency, the aforementioned system of high-level locks will have to be built in time to begin operating by the year 2020. As it does not have the necessary resources to complete such a project, Panama believes that the cooperation of the members of the international community - primarily those who use the Canal - is essential. We hope to receive that cooperation, for the sake of the well-being of the Panama Canal users who so urgently require it.

At the beginning of my statement I referred to the fact that we are two years from the golden anniversary of this Organization. We should prepare to celebrate that great event by affirming, as its founders in San Francisco wished, "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" and by promoting "social progress" and "better standards of life in larger freedom".

Mr. Fajardo MALDONADO (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me, Ambassador Samuel Insanally, to congratulate you sincerely, on behalf of my delegation, on your election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its forty-eighth session. At the same time, I would express to you our satisfaction that this post has gone to such a distinguished representative of the Latin American and Caribbean region. You may count on our cooperation in the important work that lies ahead of you.

I would also like to express our gratitude to Ambassador Stoyan Ganev for the efficiency with which he served as President of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

I would give a special greeting to Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, Monaco, Slovakia, and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and bid them a cordial welcome to our Organization. Guatemala wishes to extend to them its friendship, respect, solidarity and understanding. The increase in its membership is further proof of the faith the international community places in the United Nations as a multilateral forum *par excellence* for seeking together the solution to the problems that beset the world today.

I would also like to extend my greetings to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose dynamic leadership has allowed us to progress towards the common objective of strengthening our Organization and adapting it to the new world situation. We hope that his efforts to ensure fulfilment of the Charter and of its purposes and principles will be successful. We need a strengthened Organization to maintain international peace and security and to promote social progress and better standards of life for human beings within the widest concept of freedom.

We believe that the continuous dialogue between the Secretariat and the Member States should be based on mutual respect, confidence and understanding, and should take into account cultural, political, economic and social realities. The Secretary-General's role as a facilitator of peace processes, as an adviser on human rights and as a mediator in international conflicts may be strengthened by the contribution of distinguished statesmen and experts who share with him their experience and prestige.

The events which have taken place in my country since 25 May of this year have marked a fundamental change in the political and institutional life of Guatemala.

The breaking-off and subsequent restoration of constitutional order created a situation in which the people of Guatemala, as the country's only sovereigns, exercised legitimate resistance in order to protect and defend their rights and guarantees enshrined in the political Constitution of the Republic.

As one of the principal consequences of these events, with a view to consolidating the restoration of constitutional order so as to reinstall the Congress of the Republic, the political parties formally pledged in writing to purge the membership of that body.

Since this commitment has not yet been fulfilled, President Ramiro de León Carpio, as Head of State and the representative of national unity and the interests of the people of Guatemala, in accordance with the Constitution, requested the supreme electoral tribunal to hold a vote so that the citizens could express their will with regard to the political decision of calling for the resignation of the sitting members of the Congress and the judges of the Supreme Court. This vote, in conformity with the resolution of the tribunal, will be held on 28 November this year.

This process has no precedent in our political history. We wish to stress that all the actions taken by the Government of the Republic fall strictly within the framework of the Constitution, and, though the people of Guatemala may have opted for a slower path, through legality, to consolidate their democratic institutions, we are sure that this will be the best solution for the reconciliation of the Guatemalan family and the political stability of the State. Guatemala is charting its own course, and its political process cannot be compared with other realities.

Yesterday, President Ramirio de León Carpio presented the National Peace Plan and the Official Declaration on Human Rights to the Guatemalan people, as he does today, through me, to the international community. President León de Carpio's Plan seeks a firm peace, based on far-reaching reconciliation through dialogue, so that we Guatemalans can find unity in the diversity of our cultural, ethnic, religious, social, political, economic and ecological values.

It seeks lasting peace, achieved by putting an end to armed internal confrontation and seeing to it that the roots of hatred, resentment and distrust that have divided us are extirpated through negotiation and never again by violence.

It seeks a peace with the power to transform, achieved by consensus and national compromise, which will lead to the strengthening of the capacity of the Government and the society as a whole to respond promptly and effectively to social requirements, with particular attention to the sectors of the population most affected by the armed internal confrontation.

The first component is reconciliation. The Plan considers it essential to establish and promote the functioning in Guatemala of the permanent forum for peace. This forum will help to facilitate dialogue and ensure the participation of all Guatemalans in the solution of national problems. This reconciliation process will be promoted at the national, regional, departmental, municipal and communal levels. Thus, consensus and agreements will express needs that are truly felt by the people and will at the same time provide guidelines for joint action by the people and the Government to solve these problems. In this decentralization strategy, we shall make use of all mechanisms for making the community's voice heard, including urban and rural development councils.

In those councils national problems will be discussed in order to arrive at conclusions that will lead to the perfecting of our democracy, the strengthening of a State based on the rule of law, the full exercise of individual freedoms, respect for human rights, integrated, self-reliant and self-sustaining development with equality and justice and the solution to problems deriving from our cultural diversity.

We must link this permanent forum to previous achievements of the peace process. To this end, account should be taken, *inter alia*, of the contributions made to the great national dialogue and to the meetings that various sectors of the Guatemalan population had with the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG).

When that group integrates itself legally it will be able, through the national reconciliation commission, to present its ideas and proposals for subjects to be dealt with in the forum.

The matter of social requirements calls for honest, efficient and immediate actions by the Government to strengthen the protection and defence of human rights, actions that will reduce poverty indicators and promote development in the areas worst affected by violence and that will succeed in perfecting our democratic system. At the same time, the Government will promote and support responsible action in these fields by all sectors of society.

We hope the valuable support of the international community will be added to this effort of the people and the Government, which will contribute to a prompt and effective response to the needs and requirements of the population.

We cannot postpone the end of the armed confrontation, which requires the restoration of the negotiation process to bring about a definitive cease-fire; the return of the URNG to legality by means of amnesty; the defining of the conditions necessary for its integration into the country's political life; and, in consequence, its direct participation in the permanent peace forum.

We shall also define the international verification machinery which will make possible the concentration, disarmament and demobilization of URNG personnel. To achieve this, there must be an end to acts of terrorism, acts of destruction against the infrastructure and actions that harm the environment.

The process also requires, first, that there be a revision of the Oslo and Mexico City accords and, secondly, that a timetable for negotiations be set.

On the question of human rights, the Government has declared that it will act firmly against violations of these rights, with no distinction as to social or economic status. The necessary measures will be taken to protect and support persons and entities that are working in accordance with the law to promote and safeguard human rights. We therefore call upon the United Nations, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the States members of these organizations to increase their presence and technical contributions to actions that the State of Guatemala and its institutions undertake to strengthen, enable and perfect the machinery for protecting and defending human rights.

On behalf of my Government, I request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to seek a meeting with the URNG to undertake a review of the Oslo and Mexico City accords and to set a timetable for negotiations. The Government of Guatemala is proposing this Peace Plan, aware as it is of the imperative necessity for putting an end once and for all to armed confrontation, which has cost my country so many human lives over the course of more than 30 years. Only a sturdy, lasting peace with power to transform can serve as a basis to strengthen democratic institutions, guarantee respect for human rights and promote political, economic and social development.

For all of the above reasons we most warmly welcome the peace process that has been attained in the sister Republic of El Salvador and the one recently initiated between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Guatemala reaffirms its faith and conviction regarding the guiding principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, outstanding among which are the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes, the right to self-determination, the sovereign equality of States and, fundamentally, the respect for human rights and the principle of democratic Government.

In keeping with the principle of universality prevailing in the current international context, our country considers that cases like that of the Republic of China in Taiwan should be thoroughly studied and considered in the light of the United Nations Charter. Guatemala renews its faith and hope in multilateralism, and particularly in the United Nations. It wishes to stress its tradition of peace, dialogue and negotiation and the non-use of force in international relations.

The security of nations is no longer an exclusively geopolitical matter falling within the framework of bipolar confrontation. It is a global problem within which we must tackle the problems that afflict today's world. The concept of security should include new elements that are fundamental for the peoples of the world: democracy, development, the preservation of the environment, combating drug trafficking, food security, population trends and so on.

The Secretariat should be in the service of Member States and in that role should facilitate instruments that will make it possible to maintain international peace and security and promote economic cooperation and social development, which will guarantee the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

Guatemala believes that, within the process of restructuring and reorganizing the United Nations that is currently under way, the efficiency of the system and the full and democratic participation of all its Members should be secured. Democratization, as a fundamental element in the development of peoples, must coexist with development of the international community and its multilateral system.

We support the initiative to expand the membership of the Security Council from a regional perspective.

Operations designed to contain or solve conflicts should be matters for priority action by the United Nations as part of the Organization's efforts to forge a new world order.

Among the problems of development are to be found many of the causes of regional, national and international tension. Development must be the central focus of the efforts of the Organization. We therefore support the holding of a World Summit for Social Development, and we hope that the Secretary-General will submit the proposed agenda for development, embracing economic affairs that have traditionally been assigned to the Organization, as well as social, political, environmental and cultural matters, which we are beginning to realize are fundamental elements in the welfare of peoples.

The well-being of mankind depends in large measure on the rational use of available natural resources. With regard to ecology, we need a global perspective, as the environment is the heritage of all mankind. If the benefits are enjoyed by all, the effort should be shared. The developed world must work more closely and more effectively in financing the various programmes to preserve the environment of the developing countries and must honour the commitments given in Rio de Janeiro.

National and international security are threatened primarily by differences between the levels of development of countries. Effective action must be taken against poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy. These scourges are worsening where there are concentrations of refugees or displaced persons. Cooperation must not be delayed. For this reason, Guatemala hopes that the initiative of reactivating the North-South dialogue to strengthen international economic cooperation for development and to revitalize global economic growth, as formulated by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, will be agreed to and will lead to the creation of a better world.

The developing countries must refine the machinery for political and economic coordination to enable us to get this dialogue going seriously and constructively. It is therefore essential that international economic cooperation be strengthened to revitalize global economic growth and to ensure that the technological revolution that is under way will be one more factor in the promotion of a just and equitable world order.

We must not overlook the fact that the problems of national development are to be found also in the Central American region. International cooperation is necessary for the consolidation of peace and to encourage the development of the region. Meetings of Presidents of Central American States continue to be held regularly. Due note has been taken of regional political advances, and proposals for further improvement in this field have been put forward. A summit meeting of Central American Presidents will be held in Guatemala at the end of this month for the purpose of adopting the Protocol to the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration, whose aim is to encourage social development - a priority when it comes to consolidating peace in Central America.

The Central American effort at integration has been intensified. The Central American Integration System, which coordinates efforts at regional integration and is therefore a fundamental instrument in the process of regional development, now has a Secretary-General.

It has been proposed that a coordinated Central American fund to fight poverty be set up. This proposal will be studied at the next Summit of Central American Presidents.

Guatemala supports economic openness so that its economy may be integrated effectively into the sphere of world trade. Along with the other Central American countries, we have made progress in establishing an integrated economic space, and we are negotiating with countries and groups of countries with a view to concluding agreements on the liberalization of trade.

The Government that I represent has embarked upon a process of restructuring and consolidating its democratic institutions. Keeping faith with the Constitution of the Republic, it has today, with the greatest good will and good faith, presented its plan for peace. This is designed to save many lives and to bring to our country the longed-for peace, which cannot be achieved without the wholehearted support of the international community.

Mr. SONG Won Ho (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) *(spoke in Korean; English text furnished by the delegation)*: On behalf of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I should like, first of all, to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly for the current session. It is our hope that your efforts will crown the session with success.

The common task facing the international community today is to build a new, independent, peaceful and prosperous world. Our planet's people have an identical aspiration: to build a new and independent world, free from all forms of domination and subjugation, aggression and war. All countries and nations should have unrestricted freedom to choose and develop their own political, economic and social systems on the basis of their sovereign rights, including the right to self-determination.

Independence is the life and soul of each country and nation, and the common right of mankind. A steadfast commitment to independence enables each country to safeguard its national dignity and rights, to maintain and consolidate international relationships on a sound basis, to bring about genuine democratization of international society and, furthermore, to help to accelerate the creation of an independent world. The absence of independence will lead to failure to safeguard national sovereignty and dignity or to secure a country's prosperity and well-being.

It is an ineluctable fact that where independence is violated, there will be domination, subordination, subjugation and inequality. We draw this lesson for mankind from the 5,000-year history of the Korean nation, and it applies to the present tumultuous era, with the twenty-first century just round the corner.

The developments and events of recent years in the international arena serve to demonstrate clearly once again the correctness of the independent lines and policies of our Republic. We regard independence as our life and soul. It is the cornerstone of the internal and external policies and approaches of our Republic. It is our people's strong commitment to independence and their principled position that have enabled our country to advance along the road of Socialism. They have chosen this road themselves, under the banner of the *Juche* idea, without any confusion or twists and turns, without any upheaval or instability.

Our Republic has steadily consolidated and developed its foreign relations and has contributed to the common cause of mankind. We derive great satisfaction and pride from the fact that we have stood fast on the independent position that we took up. Our stand is one of principle and consistency: we are not at anyone's beck and call, nor do we dance to anyone else's tune. In addition, we have always maintained an independent position in our efforts to achieve peace and peaceful reunification of the country.

National reunification is a cause to realize the independence of our nation, while the principle of national independence is the inalienable fundamental principle of reunification. Great national unity is part and parcel of the process of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. Great national unity is a fundamental prerequisite to, and an essential factor in, the country's independent and peaceful reunification.

Therefore the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently subordinated everything to the goal of national reunification through great national unity incorporating the principle of national independence. The whole history of the efforts for national reunification and in particular the prevailing situation teach us that the Korean people should move towards greater national unity of the whole nation based on the principle of independence in order to attain the country's reunification.

Of course, there still exist differences in ideologies, ideals and political systems within the nation, but these differences could be overcome without much difficulty, since our nation has its own intrinsic common identity that has been shaped and consolidated through the time-honoured history of 5,000 years. Our nation remains closely knit together by kinship as a homogeneous people, a unique entity in the world, and the whole nation, whether in the north, in the south, or abroad, is united by the common desire for national reunification.

Members of the Korean nation should not be viewed differently based on whether they live in the north, south or abroad, nor should distance be put between Korean nationals just in order to curry favour with foreign forces. We can no longer engage in antagonism and confrontation at the sacrifice of our great cause.

The inter-Korean dialogue has made such epoch-making progress that the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Cooperation and Exchanges and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula were adopted and effectuated in our country. This is intended to serve our nation's effort to end the antagonism and confrontation and promote reconciliation and unity and break down the wall of division to pave the way for reunification.

Our nation is unanimous in its desire and aspiration to achieve unity, transcending all differences, and to make a tangible contribution to the country's reunification and the prosperity of the reunified country.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has personally authored and published the "Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country" reflecting the desire and will of our nation to terminate the history of division and confrontation and reunify the country.

This historic programme provides clarification on how to establish a confederal State through the application of the three principles of independence, peace and great national unity, without any bias against either the north or south, on the basis of coexistence and the equal representation of the two regional governments. The confederal State would be independent, peaceful, non-aligned and neutral, maintaining a balanced posture towards the major Powers. It also envisions the protection of private or corporate capital and assets, and joint stock interests with foreign capital before and after reunification. The Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country, which aims to bring about the country's reunification on the principle of the spirit of national independence, is a charter of national unity and reunification which reflects most comprehensively the will and the aspirations of the Korean nation and takes into full consideration the current international situation. It calls not only on the supporters of reunification but also on those who have feared or remained onlookers to reunification to take a stand for the cause of national unity and reunification. The programme also opens up positive prospects for achieving the historical cause of the country's reunification within the 1990s. Although obstacles and difficulties still stand in the way of reunification, the entire Korean people will definitely achieve national reunification in great unity, by displaying patriotism and the spirit of national independence.

At present, the relaxation of tension and establishment of peace on the Korean peninsula presents itself as an urgent issue, the solution of which allows for no further delay.

With a view to easing tension and achieving a durable peace on the Korean peninsula, the Korean Armistice Agreement should, *inter alia*, be replaced with a peace agreement. In reality, the Korean Armistice Agreement has already become outdated and the armistice mechanism remains in fact paralysed. The continuance in place of the out-of-date armistice arrangements is primarily responsible for a series of complicated and sensitive issues, including

the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula - issues still remaining to be resolved.

The fact that the state of cease-fire and the armistice arrangements of the 1950s remain unchanged even after 40 years is in itself abnormal. It is thanks to the peace-loving policy and the will of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that peace and security have been maintained so far on the Korean peninsula. Only the replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement will lead to a full and satisfactory resolution of all the issues, including the nuclear issue, will remove hostility in inter-Korean relations and will work in favour of peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification.

Such being the case, if the United Nations continues losing sight of the fundamental issues related to peace on the Korean peninsula and instead preoccupies itself with non-essential issues, it will only throw obstacles in the way of a solution of the Korean question. The United Nations should direct its primary attention to the replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement, and play its due role in terminating the armistice system and establishing a new peace arrangement.

We believe this is the right time for the United Nations to make an innovative decision to dissolve the United Nations Forces Command in south Korea and to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement in accordance with resolution 3390 (XXX) B adopted by the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. In this connection we maintain that negotiations among the parties concerned should begin at the earliest possible time to work out a new peace arrangement that will replace the present armistice system.

The denuclearization of the Korean peninsula is another essential factor in building a durable peace and security there.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea remains committed to its consistent position of turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone. As we have made clear more than once, we have no nuclear weapons; we have neither the intention nor the need to develop these weapons, nor the financial resources to support their production. We would not object to inspection of our nuclear facilities, but only when impartiality is fully guaranteed.

As shown by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea-United States of America talks, the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula is a political issue to be resolved between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America. It is to be recalled that here in New York last June the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America issued a joint statement containing their policy commitments related to a fundamental resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula.

The joint statement clarifies, in unambiguous terms, principles of assurances against the threat and use of force including nuclear weapons; peace and security in a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, including impartial application of full-scope safeguards, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs; and support for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

At the second round of talks in Geneva, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea delegation put forward a proposal on replacing its existing graphite-moderated reactors and associated nuclear facilities with light-water moderated reactors, thus demonstrating with more clarity the transparency and integrity of its non-nuclear policy.

If all the commitments the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America have agreed upon are translated into practice - including assurances against the threat and use of force, including nuclear weapons, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy through light-water moderated reactors, plus the negative security assurances - then the prospects will open up for a fundamental and final resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula and the basis for the improvement of Democratic People's Republic of Korea - United States of America relations will be laid down. Furthermore, epoch-making progress will be made in reducing tensions on the Korean peninsula and in ensuring peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

Initial and meaningful progress in the efforts to resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula is the outcome of the negotiations by the responsible parties. This vividly proves that the only way to resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula lies in dialogue and negotiations.

However, we regret to note that a certain amount of pressure has been renewed by those forces that still remain obsessed with an outdated way of thinking at the time when the talks between the Democratic People's Republic

of Korea and the United States of America aimed at resolving the nuclear issue are under way and consultations between our country and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have been conducted.

The so-called resolution on our "nuclear issue" was adopted at the thirty-seventh session of the General Conference of the IAEA, which was held some time ago. This act cannot but be viewed as the product of political conspiracy to impede, by all means, the solution of nuclear issues through negotiations and to stifle our Republic.

We regard the adoption of the "resolution" itself at the General Conference of the IAEA as a wanton violation of our Republic's sovereignty and part of sinister political offensive aimed at forcing international pressure upon us.

The whole process of the General Conference of the IAEA held recently has eloquently shown that the measures taken in the past by the secretariat and Board of Governors were unjustifiable, and, accordingly, the agency has lost face and integrity in the process of solving the "nuclear issue".

The "nuclear issue" of the Korean peninsula can be resolved only through talks between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, either in the light of its political character or its origin. Accordingly, two rounds of such talks have been held so far, which is well known to the world. This notwithstanding, it is absurd that the Japanese Prime Minister and the South Korean Foreign Minister picked a quarrel with us in this august Assembly a few days ago, clamouring about "implementing the safeguards agreement" and "international concern about development of nuclear weapons". Japan should not mention the fictitious "development of nuclear weapons", but should give up its attempt to become a military Power and to realize its aim of nuclear armament, which it is accelerating under this pretext.

The south Korean authorities should discontinue nuclear-war exercises with foreign forces against fellow countrymen and should not pursue so-called international mutual assistance systems either.

Our country, as a member of international society, will implement its commitment to the just and early solution of the nuclear issue.

I hope that all the States Members of the United Nations will lend encouragement to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's position in favour of a negotiated resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula and fully cooperate in taking practical measures to help implement the points agreed upon at the talks between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America.

The peace-loving position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone remains unchanged, and we shall continue our sincere efforts in the future, too, to remove the nuclear threat fundamentally and resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula.

Today the world situation and international relations call for an early liquidation of the legacies of the cold-war era that have been negated by history and the prevention of all sorts of attempts to reverse the forward movement of history.

Universal disarmament and the abolition world wide of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction are most urgent in eliminating the residue of the cold-war era and attaining peace and security in the world. Everything that threatens the survival of mankind and the devastation of society's treasures should be abolished.

The recent moratorium on nuclear testing introduced by certain nuclear-weapon States can be called a step forward, in the light of the fact that nuclear testing itself is the most dangerous nuclear arms race among the nuclear Powers and a major source of nuclear proliferation. It is our view that, along with the permanent ban on nuclear testing, epoch-making steps should be taken to destroy a colossal number of the nuclear weapons accumulated on the globe and all sorts of nuclear weapons deployed in other countries. In particular, nuclear weapons deployed on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding regions should be dismantled. Without this solution, any talk about international nuclear non-proliferation and world-wide nuclear disarmament is senseless.

The existence of military blocs and the presence of foreign military bases and troops in other countries are the products of cold-war policy and are permanent factors threatening world peace and security. Now that the old structure of the cold war has collapsed, there is no justification whatsoever for the existence of the military blocs and their means for waging wars of aggression. The military blocs established under the pretext of the so-called balance of forces during the cold-war era should be dissolved. Furthermore, the presence of foreign military

bases and troops in other countries is a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those nations. This runs counter to the trend towards independence of the present era. We demand the closing of all foreign military bases in various parts of the world and the unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops therefrom.

The peaceful settlement of disputes between countries and nations is one of the important issues in safeguarding world peace and security at present. In different parts of the world we are now witnessing the trampling underfoot of national sovereignty and the escalation of regional, religious and ethnic disputes into full-fledged wars. This has been disturbing peace and security in some regions, and some countries are suffering from severe disasters. Disputes between countries should be resolved through negotiations between the parties concerned in order to meet their mutual interests and serve the cause of world peace.

As long as the structure of the existing inequitable international economic order remains the same, it is impossible to eliminate the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, between the developed and the developing countries and save the developing nations from poverty, disease and disasters. The developed countries must accept responsibility for this and refrain from any actions detrimental to the economic development of the developing countries. This was specifically highlighted in the resolution and recommendations adopted by the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries. Constructive measures should be taken to resume dialogue between the developed and developing countries, reform the inequitable international economic order and establish a new, equitable international economic order.

Along with this, the developing countries should adopt practical measures to realize South-South cooperation, starting from such priority fields as food, agriculture, public health and so on, in an effort to overcome their economic poverty and establish a South-South economic order.

The historic tasks and responsibilities the United Nations has assumed before mankind are growing heavier with each passing day, and the world watches the role of the United Nations and its activities. The United Nations should be democratized to meet the requirements of the present situation and the aspirations of its Member States, according to the principles of independence, equality and impartiality.

The important point here is that all Member States should be left to fully exercise their sovereignty, regardless of differences in size of population or territory, whether strong or weak, rich or poor. All countries and nations are equal members in international society and are entitled to equal rights.

Mr. El-Araby (Egypt), Vice-President, took the chair.

In the world there are big and small countries, but there cannot be senior or junior countries; there are developed and less developed nations, but there cannot be dominating nations and nations destined to be dominated by others.

We stand against any privileges being given to any particular nation in international relations. We call for universal adherence to the principles of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, for equality and mutual benefits, and for friendship and cooperation among all the countries to be based on these principles.

In the international arena today, some forces are resorting to anachronistic actions; in violation of impartiality and international justice, these forces connive at actions on the part of certain countries that violate international norms on a number of issues, including the nuclear issue, the human rights situation and terrorism, while pretending to be ignorant of them. At the same time, they accuse those countries that disobey them of a "nuclear threat", of "human rights violations" and of "State-sponsored terrorism", imposing unacceptable pressure on them.

Unjustifiable and unreasonable actions by a few countries that resort to strong-arm tactics and high-handed behaviour while interfering in the internal affairs of others and applying a double standard to the practice of international relations must no longer be tolerated.

The United Nations should undergo restructuring and improvement. Such important measures are needed to meet more effectively the changed reality and new challenges.

Primary attention should be paid to reviewing and readjusting the composition of the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council. As the non-aligned and other developing countries form a majority of the United Nations membership, they should exercise their voice on an equivalent basis and should not be denied

the opportunity to take part in the process of resolving major international issues. We hold that the third world countries should, as a matter of course, be included in the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council, in proportion to the numbers of their members in the Organization.

At present, Japan is launching a public relations campaign to gain a seat as a permanent member of the Security Council. But Japan is not assuming its due responsibility for the acts of aggression and war crimes committed during the Second World War and has so far failed to make a clean slate of its past. Therefore, it is not reasonable to talk about its qualification for permanent membership.

Only when the United Nations measures up to its own responsibilities and role on an unprejudiced basis can it take its rightful place as the international Organization that serves international justice and champions world peace; only then will it be able to meet the expectations of its Member States.

The destiny of each country and nation is closely interlinked with the common destiny of mankind.

The world's people advocating independence should work together in unity to consolidate their respective national independence, to further their countries' independent development, and to contribute actively to a stronger world peace and security.

We fully support the Cambodian people in their efforts to promote national reconciliation, unity and rehabilitation, as we do the peoples of the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in their endeavours to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, and we support other Asian people in their struggle to build a new, independent, peaceful and prosperous Asia.

We would like to express our firm solidarity with the Palestinian and all the other Arab peoples who are engaged in efforts towards a fair and lasting solution of the Middle East question, including the Palestinian question; to the entire African people in their struggle to overcome socio-economic difficulties and achieve the independent development of their countries; to the Cuban people in their struggle to defend the country's sovereignty and dignity and the gains of socialism; and to the Latin American peoples in their efforts towards peace and prosperity.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will offer active support and firm solidarity to the people of all countries throughout the world who are struggling to oppose all sorts of domination and subjugation, to build a new society and to promote the common cause of mankind.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided by its consistent ideals of independence, peace and friendship in international relations, and these ideals coincide with the ideals of international society.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea will continue to hold fast to independence, to further strengthen contacts and cooperation with United Nations Member States, and to remain faithful to the common cause of mankind for global independence.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea wishes, in conclusion, to express its hope that at its current session the General Assembly will have a successful discussion of all the agenda items placed before it at this session through the concerted efforts of all the representatives of the various countries, thus contributing to building a new, free and peaceful world.

Mr. PAREDES (Ecuador) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I am pleased to convey my congratulations to Ambassador Samuel Insanally, the Permanent Representative of Guyana and a distinguished member of our Latin American and Caribbean Group, on his well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly.

A short while ago, we were hailing the end of the cold war. There seemed to be a fresh possibility of building a new international order based on sound moral principles, namely the principles of justice, law, freedom and democracy.

The Gulf crisis, caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, offered the international community an opportunity to react resolutely to restore the rights thus violated. The principles of condemnation of the use or the threat of the use of force as a means of settling disputes were underscored. The inadmissibility and illegitimacy of the acquisition of territories through force were reaffirmed. The principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States were strengthened. Ecuador was gratified to see the resultant reinforcement of the fundamental and age-old pillars of its international policy.

The world today aspires more firmly and decisively to live in freedom and democracy and in an atmosphere of full respect for human rights.

This fundamental change has allowed the spread, not only of positive forces, but also of underlying conflicts which, within various regions, have set off apparently uncontainable escalation.

The United Nations, whose prestige had reached new heights, was facing increasingly numerous, pressing and complex problems. Extreme nationalism had flared up in the Balkans and elsewhere, while the breakdown of authority had given rise to tragic humanitarian situations in Somalia and in other regions. In Cambodia, the Organization had to contribute to rebuilding the State.

The problems have not disappeared; on the contrary, they proliferate in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the former Soviet Union. The large numbers of refugees created by war serve as a pretext for extremist, nationalist and xenophobic ideologies to arise in the very heart of Europe.

The world, which applauded United Nations action on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, is examining with a critical eye the Organization's inaction and ineffectiveness in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Bonn, the graffiti read, "Europe is dying in Sarajevo". In the Iraq-Kuwait conflict, the use of force and the acquisition of territory by force was condemned, but it seems that in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina the use of force is being allowed to yield results and to expand the territory of the aggressor. Here is a clear illustration that international morality is opposed to double standards of action.

In that context, Ecuador views as vital the work under way to restructure and strengthen the world Organization. The General Assembly must shoulder with greater authority its responsibilities as the most representative democratic organ of the United Nations. The Security Council needs to be restructured to reflect the striking changes in the membership of the United Nations and to ensure that it is more representative and, hence, more legitimate. We commend all the steps being taken to that end, and we support others that still need to be taken to ensure that the work of the Council is characterized by vision and transparency. We think that its membership should be expanded, within limits ensuring that its work will be effective and aimed at the democratization of the Organization. Democratizing participation in the Council's work requires the presence of States of special significance on the international scene, such as Germany and Japan, and of representatives of other geographical areas not now properly represented.

The work of the United Nations in the economic and social fields should be strengthened and made more effective. We must not forget that peace is threatened not only by military aggression but also, and even more, by situations of injustice or crisis that ought to be settled in a spirit of international solidarity. For that reason, Ecuador looks forward to seeing as soon as possible the report the General Assembly has requested of the Secretary-General, on an agenda for development.

Ecuador was pleased by the results of the recent World Conference on Human Rights. We believe that the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action constitute an important step forward towards recognizing the universal nature of human rights. The right to development is universal and inalienable. Ecuador appeals to all States to make an effort to implement the goals and purposes of the Vienna Programme of Action.

Ecuador is deeply gratified by the positive developments in South Africa. We hope that the elections scheduled for 1994 will mark the conclusive establishment of a democratic, non-racial, pluralistic society truly free and open to progress.

The most important element of progress may well be social development. For that reason, Ecuador firmly supported the initiative to convene the World Summit for Social Development. We reiterate our backing for the international community's decision, which will add meaning to the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The world economy is at a difficult stage. Even the developed economies are in deep crisis. We must adopt a new monetary and fiscal policy aimed at promoting short-term recovery and at eliminating structural imbalances in the medium term. It is vital to coordinate the macro-economic policies of the strongest countries in order to promote world economic growth. It is necessary also to take account of the legitimate interests of all countries, especially developing countries.

It will be impossible to maintain and bolster our democracies without at the same time engaging in economic and social programmes aimed at improved living standards for all. In addressing these issues we should not rely solely on old economic statistical systems, but should

turn to systems that evaluate the quality of life, such as that proposed by the United Nations Development Programme.

I would recall that a country's domestic policies play a dominant part in its development process. Ecuador has decided to carry out serious and thorough structural reforms that will permit greater scope for private enterprise and individual initiative and that will reduce Government intervention wherever it has proved to be ineffective and inappropriate.

Economic development is meaningful when it addresses human reality. To achieve this, we must be firmly committed to modernizing the State and, by our example, ensuring that morality prevails in the work of the Government.

But national efforts to modernize the State and open the economy to the universal trend towards freedom require timely, adequate financial support. This should be obtained, basically, by establishing a trading system making possible fair prices for commodities and other exports of developing countries. Ironically, while they make splendid speeches in favour of free trade, the powerful countries continue to impose measures that contradict their fine words. One example is the import barriers on Latin American bananas imposed by the European Economic Community.

We are concerned about what results will issue from the Uruguay Round of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). We need transparent machinery to fight protectionism; this must result from true international negotiations.

For many countries, certainly including Ecuador, the external debt continues to be one of the most serious problems and one that has the heaviest negative impact, not only in the economic but also in the social and even political fields. We must review the financial policies of the international credit agencies and complement their resources with direct private investment, so that the flow of capital from the developing world to the developed countries does not, as has happened to date, exceed the amount of aid or investment channelled to the developing countries.

Prudent and appropriate regulation of the environment and development is a task that concerns and interests us all. We must promote sustainable development that will meet humanity's needs today without jeopardizing the rights of future generations. The Rio Conference is of far-reaching importance and the fulfilment of the decisions and commitments undertaken there is crucial. Agenda 21 is a historic document requiring political resolve on the part of all if it is to be put into effect. In that regard, the establishment and consolidation of financial sources is essential.

In the context of international security it is vitally important that all international agreements concluded within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency be strictly complied with, and that the inspection systems be strengthened to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In this respect, we support all efforts to create new nuclear-weapon-free zones and we voice our concern at any failure to comply with the resolutions relating to the Korean peninsula. We urge the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to heed the just demands of the international community.

Today, I have heard with great concern of a possible breach of the moratorium on nuclear testing by the People's Republic of China. If that information is confirmed, it will represent a grave step backwards in the process of establishing moratoriums on nuclear testing. We hope that it will not trigger a rush to new testing on the part of other nuclear Powers.

In Latin America, democracy and freedom have been strengthened. It is our hope that, by means of the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination, Latin American will soon be free of the remaining exceptions.

The case of Haiti is particularly disquieting. Respect for democracy and human values is a basic pillar of civilized coexistence. Ecuador believes that the joint action of the international community must encourage a new phase that will provide the Haitian people with certain basic guarantees.

Throughout its history, Ecuador has demonstrated its peaceful spirit in true and unquestionable terms. In that spirit, it participated in the United Nations Observer Group in Central America and the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador. It continues to support the latter and has offered its forces for other peace-keeping operations.

The proliferation of peace-keeping operations has highlighted the need to carry out a careful review of the

conditions in which these operations are created and carried out and the limits of their respective mandates. This Organization should set the example of austerity in fund management in order to enhance its moral authority and its effectiveness.

In the light of its special links with Latin America, Ecuador attaches particular importance to its relations with neighbouring countries. Our Government has strengthened and expanded its traditional relations with Colombia, and they have recently been evolving with great promise.

A similar process is under way between the Governments of Ecuador and Peru. The Presidents of Ecuador and Peru have given repeated and eloquent proof of their political resolve to make progress in the process of dialogue that has opened between the two countries. This process will enable us to ensure a climate of friendship, trust and understanding and to narrow the differences in our positions on the territorial issue. Together we can make significant steps towards promoting the well-being of our peoples, and as we move towards understanding we will be able to overcome the differences which have long been an obstacle in the way of a new era of fruitful coexistence.

The Government of Ecuador was pleased and very grateful to note the demonstrations of support from many countries, particularly American ones, for our dialogue with Peru. We also appreciated the message that His Holiness Pope John Paul II addressed to President Sixto Durán Ballén and President Alberto Fujimori on the occasion of their meeting in Bahía de Caráques in December 1992.

Ecuador, by tradition and inclination, has been a peace-loving nation and believes that the only valid way to overcome the territorial differences persisting between it and Peru lies in the peaceful settlement of disputes. One option in that regard is the arbitration of His Holiness the Pope, who, with his lofty moral authority and his enduring devotion to understanding and harmony among peoples, is extremely well qualified. That is why the Constitutional President of Ecuador, Sixto Durán Ballén, speaking from this very rostrum at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, reiterated the initiative which former Ecuadorian President Rodrigo Borja set forth at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly concerning the arbitration of the Holy See.

In response to this initiative and in keeping with the spirit of dialogue that has been maintained and cultivated between the two countries, the President of Peru proposed the participation of the Holy See through the mediation of an expert adviser who would offer his opinion from the point of view of that neighbouring and friendly country with respect to the "frontier disputes" with Ecuador.

We now have two proposals that are distinct in scope and content: on the one hand, arbitration, and on the other the assistance of an expert adviser. But they coincide in their recognition of the great help to be had from the Pontiff, who in the course of history has traditionally worked for *rapprochement* and understanding among peoples. These very differences and varied proposals highlight the need to preserve and strengthen the process of dialogue between the two countries. Ecuador is faithfully committed to that process with a view not only to finding the fairest, most realistic and honourable solution to the problem, but also in order to respond appropriately to all the possibilities for complementary action, cooperation and joint endeavour that these two countries could and should pursue with a view to securing the development, integration and well-being for their peoples.

Thus, we shall no longer be divided by borders and borders will become points of union and of promising cooperation, with tremendous scope and possibilities. This has been the case with regard to the maritime area that we share; this is the hope of the two peoples, especially the peoples of southern Ecuador and northern Peru; this must be the case with regard to the Amazon River meeting for a historic reconciliation of our two nations that adequately meets the major interests of the two countries in the Amazon region and identifies them in plans that take account of their individual and collective rights, enhance their potential and create conditions reflecting the importance of a major river system and a region that all the countries of the basin must preserve and promote for the sake of current development as well as the future well-being of our peoples.

In this spirit of frank and constructive dialogue, President Sixto Durán Ballén accepted the kind invitation of President Alberto Fujimori to visit Peru. Ecuador's Foreign Ministry is busy making preparations with the authorities of that friendly country for this mission so that the greatest possible success may be achieved.

A few days ago the world enthusiastically welcomed the handshake between two courageous men who had opted for peace and understanding. I should like, on behalf of Ecuador, to pay tribute to Prime Minister

Itzhak Rabin and President Yasser Arafat. I am confident that this gesture, this historic event, will be not only the beginning of a tough but promising relationship aimed at securing understanding and cooperation between the two peoples but also a signal, a sign of the times, for many other peoples who have to pursue the arduous path of peace and understanding.

For this reason, President Clinton was absolutely right when, on that historic morning, he said:

> "We know that a difficult path lies before us. Every peace has its own enemies - those who always prefer the easy attitudes of hatred to the hard task of reconciliation."

Ecuador believes in peace and trusts in peace and understanding. Hence, I wish to associate myself with the noble words of Cardinal Antonio Samoré, the delegate of the Holy Father in the Papal mediation between the fraternal countries of Argentina and Chile, in his speech at the time of the signing, in Montevideo, of the commitment between the two countries:

> "I say to all of you - Christians, believers and men of good will: do not be afraid to opt for peace, to educate for peace. The aspiration to peace will never be disappointed. The endeavour to achieve peace inspired by charity that never fails will yield its fruits. Peace will be the last word in history."

Against this background, and with a view to ensuring that these efforts are made in an appropriate climate of genuine understanding and harmony and will be effective, I formally take the opportunity, at this rostrum, to propose to the Government of Peru that, reaffirming the commitment that both countries have made in accordance with many existing international instruments - principally, the United Nations Charter - we give our word of honour that, in our mutual relations, we shall not resort to force or to the threat of the use of force. Such a solemn commitment would underscore an essential legal obligation and amount to an eloquent additional means of promoting mutual trust; and it would be an appropriate framework for continued dialogue on the path of peace and understanding, with a view to achieving, as soon as possible, a fair, honourable and lasting settlement between the two countries.

Mr. MUSYOKA (Kenya): May I, at the outset, take this opportunity to extend our most sincere condolences and deepest sympathy to the delegation, Government and people of India following the earthquake disaster, which has left thousands of people dead and many villages destroyed. We share the grief of the people of India at this sorrowful and tragic time.

I should like to join those representatives who have already congratulated Mr. Insanally of Guyana on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its forty-eighth session. His election to this high office is a demonstration of the confidence that the Member States have in him and of their respect for his country, Guyana. We are confident that, under his wise guidance, our deliberations in this session will achieve the desired results.

I also wish to pay tribute to Mr. Insanally's predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, for steering the forty-seventh session to a successful conclusion.

We commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, too for the skilful and competent manner in which he is directing the Organization.

Allow me to take this opportunity to congratulate the Members that were admitted to the Organization during the past year. Their admission strengthens the ideal of the universality of the United Nations. We assure them of our willingness to work closely with them in our common efforts to create a better world.

The end of the cold war created an unprecedented opportunity to increase international cooperation with a view to achieving international peace and security and promoting the socio-economic progress envisaged in the United Nations Charter. However, the new challenges emerging on the global scene demand that the international community summon up the will and imagination to overcome them.

The disappearance of the great ideological rivalry between East and West has resulted in a sense of soberness and improvement in relations between States. It has also led to a reduction in tensions and to significant progress in the area of disarmament, thereby creating opportunities for the conversion of massive resources to peaceful uses.

Peace and security, however, is not merely the absence of war or the threat of war; it is the absence of conditions that threaten the enjoyment of life and social harmony. The United Nations now has an opportunity to put fully into effect the system of security envisaged in its

peaceful settlement of disputes and collective action in pursuit of international peace and the maintenance of global security. Equally important, the world has an opportunity to build pillars of peace by tackling sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields.

The brutal war in Bosnia, the destruction of Somalia and the protracted civil wars in Angola and elsewhere confirm the futility of the use of force as a means of solving disputes.

The ratification of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) by the Governments of the United States of America and the Russian Federation and their signing of the START II Agreements in January 1993 are significant developments in disarmament. The primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament rests with those States that possess the nuclear arsenals. Kenya, however, strongly believes that the international community as a whole must be involved and should contribute to measures intended to achieve nuclear disarmament and the non-proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction.

Contrary to expectations, the collapse of the bipolar world order has not given way to a new order of peace and democracy and improved socio-economic situations. The emerging order has raised new challenges and new approaches to solutions. As Members of the United Nations family, we need to redouble our efforts with vision and determination to balance both short- and long-term interests as we struggle to shape the new order.

In many parts of the world, we are confronted with assertions of nationalism coupled with territorial claims. As the Secretary-General puts it in his Agenda for Peace,

> "... the cohesion of States is threatened by brutal ethnic, religious, social, cultural and linguistic strife". *(A/47/277, para. 11)*

Kenya subscribes to the thrust of the Agenda for Peace as elaborated during the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, on the basis of which a draft resolution will be adopted during this session. The elaboration of the Agenda for Peace should take into account the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of nation-States.

The new approach will widen and deepen the scope of the United Nations in the promotion of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace and security. In this regard, Kenya urges the full exploitation of the potential of the International Court of Justice in the adjudication of disputes between States as a potential transparent and cost-effective means of conflict resolution.

The case of Somalia is particularly distressing. We strongly believe that keeping United Nations peace-keeping personnel in Somalia is critical to the pursuit of peace and security in that country. We note with appreciation the Secretary-General's report that, despite several incidences of violence in Mogadishu, there are improvements in the overall situation, including eradication of starvation, establishment of a large number of district councils, opening of schools and resumption of normal life in most areas of the country.

We also welcome Security Council resolution 865 (1993) of 22 September, by which the Council, *inter alia*, invites the Secretary-General to consult the countries of the region and regional organizations concerned on means of further reinvigorating the reconciliation process. We believe that the regional peace initiatives can effectively complement the United Nations efforts in facilitating reconciliation between all the factions in Somalia.

The highest priority is to assist the people of Somalia in furthering the national reconciliation process and to promote and advance the re-establishment of regional and national institutions and civil administration in the entire country, as set out in Security Council resolution 814 (1993). This requires improvement of the dialogue between the United Nations personnel in Somalia and the general Somali public as an essential element in confidence-building to facilitate reconciliation between the various factions.

Kenya shares an 800-kilometre-long border with Somalia. In many ways, we are extremely exposed to the Somalia problem. Somalia is a sister country with which we share family relations as well as ethnic and cultural affinities. The very heavy influx of Somali refugees into Kenya has had a devastating effect on the most ecologically fragile parts of the country. The border region has suffered serious environmental destruction as a result of excessive cutting of trees for building materials and firewood. The physical and social infrastructures have been overstretched by excessive usage and overloading.

Most seriously, our people and security personnel have been subjected to numerous acts of banditry by armed gangs crossing into Kenya from Somalia, causing general

insecurity in the border region. We have continued to lose both civilians and security personnel at an unacceptably high rate as a result of attacks by bandits. Huge numbers of livestock and huge quantities of other property have also been lost to them.

As peace is being restored in Somalia, we are cooperating with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to accelerate the voluntary repatriation of refugees. At the same time, we are requesting the United Nations and the donor community to urgently assist Kenya with programmes for the rehabilitation of the physical and social infrastructures as well as for the restoration of the ecosystem in the region.

We are also requesting the Secretary-General to reinforce the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) patrols along the Somali side of the border so as to complement the efforts of the Kenyan security personnel on our side. We believe that the joint security efforts will significantly scale down the flow of armed gangs and individuals into Kenya.

Sudan is another neighbouring country that has for a long time now been suffering devastating civil strife. The problem has been of great concern not only to the neighbouring countries but also to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. There is an urgent need for the United Nations to support the ongoing regional efforts spearheaded by Presidents Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Afwerki of Eritrea and Zenawi of Ethiopia under the chairmanship of President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya. We appeal to all parties involved in the conflict to be flexible in the search for a just and lasting solution.

Elsewhere in our continent, efforts to find solutions to ethnic and other conflicts have shown encouraging trends. We are confident that the people of Mozambique, Rwanda and Liberia will realize their dreams of peace through the process of dialogue. Greater involvement by the United Nations in the Rwandese peace process is pertinent at this stage. It is essential that the peace accords signed in these countries be honoured by all the parties, with effective support from the United Nations, the OAU and regional bodies, and with generous assistance from friendly countries.

The situation in Angola is very disturbing. The ongoing bloodshed could easily have been avoided if the UNITA leadership had accepted the verdict of the people in the elections. We appeal to UNITA to agree to a dialogue for a peaceful political solution, with the mediation and increased support of the United Nations, OAU and the sponsors of the Peace Accords.

We are also greatly encouraged by the developments that have taken place in South Africa. The agreement reached for the creation of the Transitional Executive Council and the setting of a date for the first democratic elections pave the way for the establishment of a truly non-racial, democratic South Africa. We support the recent call by Mr. Nelson Mandela, the President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), for all diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa to be lifted.

The recently concluded, momentous agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) marks a turning point in the process of finding a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian and, indeed, the Middle East problem. We are encouraged by the assurances that this is the first tangible step towards the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel. We wish the Palestinian and Israeli people happy and peaceful coexistence.

Further afield, we welcome the successful holding of the elections under United Nations auspices in Cambodia, the conclusion of the Governors Island Agreement on the restoration of a democratically elected Government of Haiti, and the progress towards the establishment of lasting peace in El Salvador.

The experience of Somalia and other regional conflicts convinces us that there is an urgent need for the United Nations to re-evaluate the existing international control systems for conventional-weapon production and trade. The widespread availability of deadly conventional weapons constitutes the most important factor in the prolongation of regional and civil conflicts.

With its increased responsibilities and challenges, the United Nations needs to be restructured and revitalized so that it can effectively discharge its responsibilities. It must also be provided with adequate resources. The tasks ahead demand that the energy and attention of all components of the United Nations be engaged fully and appropriately.

The General Assembly must be enabled to play its full role in decisions affecting international peace and security. There is a need to establish a balanced relationship between the Assembly and the other principal organs of the

United Nations, and to ensure logical accountability of the principal organs, in particular the Security Council.

The Security Council must also be reformed so that it is more transparent, more representative and more democratic in its decision-making process, while at the same time its effectiveness is ensured.

The ongoing restructuring and revitalization of the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields should strengthen the Council and enable it to play a central role in providing policy recommendations to the General Assembly. Similarly, the ongoing efforts to restructure the Secretariat must be balanced and accord appropriate priority to development concerns. Operational activities of the Organization must be provided with adequate resources on a sustainable basis to enable it effectively to promote socio-economic progress in accordance with its Charter.

Peace-keeping operations have increasingly become among the most utilized and widely acceptable instruments of the Organization, especially in discharging its primary responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security. The operations have also increasingly taken on new and broader assignments and responsibilities. Kenya is happy to be closely associated with peace-keeping operations. We have contributed military and police personnel to many peace-keeping operations world wide. The enormous rise in the number and scope of peace-keeping operations requires that the ability of the Secretariat to manage such large-scale operations be strengthened and also that Member States be ready to finance the operations.

In this connection, the serious concerns expressed by the Secretary-General and his urgent appeals to Member States to pay arrears of contributions must receive a concrete and speedy response from all the Members of this Organization. The formula for apportioning contributions should reflect the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and of other developed countries and take into account the relatively limited capacities of developing countries. A dramatic change in the formula of contributions could, I submit, complicate further the problem of arrears. The establishment of the peace-keeping reserve fund would go a long way towards making peace-keeping operations more efficient. In this regard, a timely and effective response by the United Nations will largely depend on the availability of adequate resources, at least in the initial stages, to cater for the critical time lost in negotiations for the financing of peace-keeping operations. It is also important that a formula be developed to establish a more predictable financial basis for the peace-keeping operations.

The uncertainty prevailing in the world economy today is a cause for serious concern. Insufficient growth in the developed countries has contributed to the unfavourable external conditions that threaten the political, economic and social stability of many developing countries. These include renewed pressures for increased protectionism, falling commodity prices and the decline in financial flows, among other conditions. Despite the far-reaching economic and political reforms which have been put in place by most African countries in the last three years, the situation continues to be grim, since the region continues to experience economic growth of less than 2 per cent. The current trends, if not reversed, threaten to marginalize further the participation of African countries in the global economy.

The liberalization of the African economies and the hard work of the African people are not in themselves sufficient to transform the socio-economic situation in Africa. The continent is not playing the international economic game with other continents on a level ground. We wish, therefore, to underscore the need for the international community to seize the opportunity created by the positive changes taking place on the continent and give Africa real support so that the gains made for economic and democratic reform will be sustainable.

At the same time, African countries should continue to strengthen their regional integration efforts within the regional bodies already established, such as the Preferential Trade Area for the Eastern and Southern African Countries (PTA), the Inter-Governmental Authority for Drought and Development (IGADD) in the Horn of Africa, and the ongoing efforts to revive East African cooperation.

Our experience in Kenya in implementing structural adjustment programmes is that the reforms have inherent negative short-term effects, particularly on the poor and the other vulnerable members of society. These include the fall in their purchasing power owing to the liberalization of prices, job losses through a reduction of manpower in the public sector, and the reduction of government expenditure on such essential social services as health, education and other infrastructures. The donor community needs, therefore, to balance the aid conditionalities with the socio-economic realities obtaining in the countries implementing structural adjustment programmes,

particularly by addressing the social dimensions of such programmes in concrete and human terms.

The United Nations new agenda for the development of Africa in the 1990s, adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session, commits the international community to implement concrete and effective measures to support Africa's own efforts in the process of economic reforms and development. The success of the implementation of the programme will depend, first, on the efforts of the African countries themselves and, secondly, on the back-up resources from multilateral and bilateral donors. We are concerned that these resources are shrinking owing to diversion and what appears to be a subtle disengagement from Africa.

The acute external debt of African countries and the heavy and unbearable burden of servicing that debt are among the matters on which concrete action is needed. The burden of debt-servicing drains the continent of over $10 billion annually, thus diverting resources badly needed for investment and alleviation of poverty.

On trade, it is gratifying to note that, after six months of stalemate, multilateral negotiations of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have resumed. We emphasize, however, that the outcome of the negotiations should be balanced to take account of the particular needs of the poor developing countries.

The World Conference on Human Rights, which was held in Vienna, Austria, in June this year, marked a significant watershed for the international community on the important question of human rights. That Conference emphasized that human rights are interdependent and indivisible. It recognized development as a basic human right. Democracy, development and human rights go hand in hand, as experience has shown that it is difficult to guarantee some basic rights, especially economic and social rights, in situations of abject poverty.

As I emphasized in my statement at that Conference, the existing international institutions for human rights need strengthening. At the same time, developing countries require support and assistance to strengthen their domestic institutions and build strong foundations for the rule of law and the administration of justice.

Since the Rio Conference on Environment and Development, Governments and international agencies have focused their attention on the implementation of Agenda 21. The first substantive meeting of the Commission on Sustainable Development, held in June this year, made tangible progress in adopting crucial decisions on its work programme. Kenya welcomes the progress being made towards ensuring the effectiveness of the Global Environmental Facility as an important instrument for funding incremental costs related to the implementation of Agenda 21. However, we are concerned that adequate financial resources for the implementation of the programme have fallen short of expectations. On institutional arrangements, while Kenya supports the mandate given to the Commission on Sustainable Development in regard to monitoring progress in the implementation of Agenda 21, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) must continue to play a central role owing to the experience and expertise it has accumulated over the years in the area of the environment. The need to strengthen UNEP to enable it to participate effectively in the implementation of Agenda 21 can therefore not be overemphasized.

Accordingly, the conference facilities at UNEP Headquarters in Nairobi must be put to full use. It is neither economically sound nor in keeping with the objective of strengthening UNEP to have many meetings initiated by the Organization held outside its Headquarters. As a host country, Kenya shall continue to provide all the necessary assistance to UNEP to enable it to play its central and, indeed, its rightful role.

As the Secretariat of the United Nations undergoes restructuring, we should be mindful of the mandates of various agencies and bodies in order to avoid the possibility of losing the original objective. Kenya is concerned that the role of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), whose Headquarters are in Nairobi, is being eroded by the undue delay in filling the post of Executive Director, despite the concerns expressed by the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. The filling of the post will give the required impetus to the Habitat secretariat.

Mr. Pursoo (Grenada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

As to the social issues, I wish to assure members of our cooperation with the international community in the preparatory work for the forthcoming Conference on Population and Development, to be held next year; the Fourth World Conference on Women, also to be held in 1994; and the World Summit for Social Development, set for 1995. We need to put all our energies into the

preparatory work of these Conferences to ensure that they achieve their intended objectives.

In conclusion, the international community, through this Assembly, must make every effort to face these challenges and many more which are yet to come. We owe it to posterity and to future generations to leave this world a better place to live in. We have neither excuses nor reasons to fail. And if we do fail, history will judge us harshly. In this endeavour, our differences should strengthen rather than weaken us, for in unity lies our strength. In the words of our beloved President, His Excellency Daniel Teroitich Arap Moi, love, peace and unity are the pillars for development and progress.

Mr. SHIHMURADOV (Turkmenistan) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like to congratulate the President on his assumption of his important post at the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

I should also like to express my gratitude for making it possible for me to comply with the instructions of the President of Turkmenistan, Mr. Niyazov, and the entire Turkmen population in speaking to the world community. A unique situation prevails in the world today. There are no longer two inimical camps, and we virtually have eliminated the most pressing problem of global nuclear conflict. Furthermore, ridding ourselves of the ideological yoke has freed us from internal conflicts and contradictions. As political scientists said after the end of the standoff between the two blocs, we now have on the world agenda urgent problems - new and bloody regional and internal conflicts, which are no less dangerous to the world than a global confrontation.

What are the reasons for this seemingly unfathomable outbreak of aggressiveness and conflict? In our view, the answer to this question can be found in the lack of political pragmatism and in a failure to understand realities. One of the major reasons is the lack of a deep-seated political culture and of restraint, and the desire to do everything at once. But there are no miracles. We need political courage, which has been demonstrated by the President of Turkmenistan, in order to avoid the pitfalls of unrealistic decisions, something which might, to put it mildly, lead to social disappointment.

From the very first days of our independent existence, Turkmenistan found itself faced with a whole series of difficult and unique problems, which were determined by the special characteristics of its attaining statehood. Proclaiming its sovereignty and independence is only the starting-point for a lengthy process which is to lead to the establishment of an efficient political system, a strong national economy and a workable social structure. For this, we need essentially not just reforms but a full reorientation of the political system and of the economy. I should like to emphasize especially this aspect, since at the same time very difficult reforms will be needed in other areas as well.

The natural economic and social development of our people was interrupted for seven long decades. As a result, people lost the notion of private property, and their ways of thinking and social morals became out of touch. This is an important aspect, and we should bear this mind in establishing new States on a new legal basis.

At the present time, the most important possessions of all the citizens of Turkmenistan are independence and the opportunity to solve their problems independently. Perhaps this would seem to be axiomatic, but as we see it, of the entire system of priorities formulated by the Government of our country, this is the most desirable in the current circumstances prevailing in Turkmenistan and in the area.

In order to achieve large-scale reforms of the political and economic system in Turkmenistan, a programme of "10 years of stability" has been adopted. What are the tasks of that programme? First and foremost, to wean the economy away from the notion of State property, in particular from a foodstuff-dominated economy and production towards the production of prepared products. The second is the formation of the political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural life of the State, without the infamous system - inherited from the past - of roles played out in advance. Thirdly is the formation and development of democratic institutions, including a multi-party system. Against the background of these processes, we see social psychology transformed, away from political apathy and the lack of responsibility.

In this regard, we are trying to pursue our policy in such a way that we would strengthen our ability to avoid social upheaval, breakdowns in all sectors of society and the lack of social harmony. This is not easy. The people of Turkmenistan need unity and solidarity. This gives us hope for the future, however. Pragmatism will be a determinant in overcoming our difficulties in establishing the major criteria for Turkmenistan's current foreign policy. In solving these economic problems, we are offering to our foreign partners businesslike cooperation without any ideological or political passions, and we have found understanding everywhere. The logical outcome of

this development has led us to the formulation of a foreign-policy concept of positive neutrality, which is in keeping with the national interests of our State and in the interest of maintaining peace and stability in the region.

In solving military problems, we have been guided by our neutral status, which stems from the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the recognition of territorial integrity and the inviolability of their borders. It is well known that sometimes the concept of non-interference can be questionable or even rejected. But in our view, a new independent State in Europe and Asia also needs conditions for the peaceful resolution of its internal problems in order to achieve civil calm and in order to find the necessary compromises. Obviously, based on military force, we cannot achieve development and progress in the broad sense of the word. And we need to move away from internationalizing the internal problems of various States through military force. At the same time, we support the peace-keeping actions of the United Nations and other international organizations.

These are the factors that determine our view of events in Tajikistan. I can state that our position has found support and understanding among other countries. We have reached agreement with the leadership of Iran on a new agreement, one of the most important conditions of which is the transformation of the 1,500-kilometre border between Iran and Turkmenistan into a border of peace and cooperation. We are actively engaged in political dialogue with the central Government of Afghanistan and also with the authorities of the northern and north-western provinces.

Such a policy has brought positive results. Recently we signed a three-party memorandum on the construction of a railroad from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through Afghanistan. In addition, Afghanistan will see the first major railroad in its history. We will make it possible, therefore, to have an outlet to the ports of the Indian Ocean through the States of Central Asia and Europe.

Speaking of relations with our neighbours, we must especially emphasize the role of Russia in the creation of an independent Turkmenistan. We well understand that this process began in Russia and was initiated by its leadership. A high degree of understanding at the level of leadership and the traditional mutual respect of our peoples has established a lasting basis for the development of mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation on new and equitable bases. In speaking of this, I should like from this rostrum to state that Turkmenistan supports the efforts of the leadership of Russia to establish order and to establish conditions for the active continuation of political reforms and the full dismantling of the totalitarian system and its replacement with a system chosen by the people.

Turkmenistan is actively developing relations with Turkey, Austria, the United Kingdom, Indonesia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Germany, France, Argentina and Italy, and constructive dialogue with the United States is under way. President Niyazov's recent visit to Belgium laid the groundwork for new cooperation between Turkmenistan and the countries of the European Community and between Turkmenistan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are also opening a number of Turkmenistan Embassies abroad. In short, our country is actively involved in international relations.

We support those agreements that will lead to an end of confrontation and make possible peaceful and constructive dialogue. Among those agreements, we note with satisfaction the recent changes in the relationship between Israel and the PLO.

Turkmenistan's geopolitical situation - our country is a member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and is at the same time connected by deep historical and cultural roots to the Middle and Far East - enables us, in view of our country's stability, to play a constructive role in bridging the gap between two major regions of the world.

I should like to say a few words on Turkmenistan's position *vis-à-vis* the Commonwealth of Independent States. Turkmenistan is in favour of the Commonwealth, in favour of the development of integrationist processes and, while it opposed the establishment of any kind of rigid centralized system in the past it is in favour of coordinating structures.

In our view, the coming forth today of super-national formations has held back the process of independence and has now led back to the former system of decision by force. In States that have arisen since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, we now see respect for national interests alone, and we see only the bare beginnings of a process of inter-State relations on new, qualitatively different bases. The statehood of these countries is a difficult matter, and this process must respect national specificities and social and economic factors. If all these factors are borne in mind, any kind of rigid coordinating structure is impossible. Attempts artificially to impose positions and a unified model for development on new independent States cannot but work against sovereignty and national

interests. In the final analysis, such an approach would lead to the establishment of a new centre.

From the very outset, Turkmenistan actively attempted to develop relations with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the basis of bilateral relations and various types of agreements, in view of the fact that the Commonwealth is primarily a consultative mechanism that gives us the opportunity to exchange ideas and experience and to lay down programmes of action. We feel that such an approach is more flexible and therefore more effective. Experience has shown that at this current stage - and I emphasize, at this current stage - bilateral agreements are a more reliable basis for solving problems as they arise.

We often see the example of the European Community, and, supposedly, the same thing could happen in our region. To my mind, anyone who tries to achieve what the European Community has done over 40 years is not taking into account some essential factors: the high-level starting-point of the unification of Europe, the very different market basis of its economies and what might be called the European psychology. We have none of these factors.

It is important to establish the fact that if we cannot count on our future relations, the Commonwealth of Independent of States has no prospects. We in Turkmenistan believe, and have always believed, that a solution should be found within the framework of the Commonwealth, should be adopted by consensus and should be very broad and based primarily on economic feasibility and attractiveness. This will be only the first step, and it needs to be followed by others on a higher level of integration.

But for this, the Commonwealth of Independent States and the countries of which it is composed need a period of transition in order to work out acceptable approaches and adequately evaluate the existing realities. Over two years of independent development, we have done a great deal of work in establishing a legal basis for the market. We have already established the basis and guarantees that opened up the Turkmen market to foreign investors and enterprises. In Turkmenistan we have introduced private property, including land, and we have established zones of free economic development. Today we have a stable political situation and social agreement. It is important that society be psychologically prepared for new economic relations.

On 1 November this year, Turkmenistan will introduce its own national monetary unit, the manat. We are in an extremely unstable monetary zone, which would mean certain limitations for Turkmenistan if we gave up our sovereignty and formed our own policy regarding prices, taxation, budgeting, credit and monetary policy. Hence, our country has sometimes absorbed some losses because of continuing inflation and the economic crisis.

All of this was conditioned by the need to introduce our own currency. We believe that our own currency policy will be closely linked to that of the United States dollar, and we intend to ensure, from the time we introduce it, its convertibility. According to prognoses of international experts and our own evaluations, we have a real opportunity of doing this. The manat will be a reliable currency for the State reserves. The introduction of a national currency policy will hasten structural changes in the economy and bring us closer to the market.

With the International Monetary Fund we have worked up a programme of structural economic changes, including a step-by-step process. From 1 October we have begun a broad liberalization of prices, including plans to enter the world price system and this also includes energy prices. With the introduction of the manat as our currency we are beginning active privatization, which involves, first and foremost, the sphere of services in the area of medium-sized and large enterprises. This is to be done by selling enterprises at auction and distributing shares among workers. We hope to conclude the privatization process by the end of 1995.

I should like to point out that the privatization programme has been carried out in close cooperation with the World Bank. In addition, measures to free prices have been undertaken by the Government in order to free up trade. Licensing of exports will take place with a view to observing norms ensured through national security and the protection of our cultural and artistic heritage. We shall also undertake other steps designed to promote maximum stimulation of international trade and eliminate administrative barriers and to increase access to the market. In a time of transition to a market economy, we intend to make the State's role more streamlined and open and significantly reduce its interference in economic activities.

We welcome the attention the United Nations specialized agencies have paid us with regard to our problems. Despite our difficulties and the problems yet to be solved, the Republic has achieved considerable success. Over the first six months of 1993, Turkmenistan's national

income increased by 112 per cent. Such growth would not have been achieved by many States in a similar situation. Over that same period industrial output increased by 116.9 per cent, and agricultural production increased by 124 per cent.

The stronger our economy, the more reliable the fabric of political and social life in our State. At the same time, we believe that economic development is inconceivable without our country's steady development of a society in which the individual and his interests are regarded as the most important end. For Turkmenistan, which for 70 years had a totalitarian system with backward social development, development of the economy remains the keystone of our State policy. In this context, along with other forthcoming major international events, such as the International Conference on Population and Development, the Fourth World Conference on Women, with the three objectives, equality, development and peace, and the International Conference on Population and Development, which will deal with problems of human beings and their need for shelter, we welcome the preparations for the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen in 1995, which will deal, we think, in detail with social consequences of economic reform and restructuring as applied to countries in transition. In the context of social problems, I should like to point out that in 1990 we had the World Summit for Children, which established a new basis for improving living conditions for children the world over.

The Government of Turkmenistan gives priority attention to these endeavours. Turkmenistan joined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and intends very soon to sign the Declaration that was adopted at that World Summit. We also have serious work under way for national programmes of action in order to achieve the goals outlined in the Declaration.

We share the view of the international community that we must rebuild the Earth's ecology. We support international cooperation in United Nations efforts in this timely endeavour. In our view, it is sustainable development and balanced attention to the interests of all countries that will ensure the successful solution of global, regional and subregional problems; this should accord with the conclusions of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and of the Convention on climate change.

I announce before the Assembly that Turkmenistan intends to eliminate all its nuclear weapons and will continue its support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), for the chemical weapons Convention, and for the bacteriological (biological) weapons Convention.

I convey the gratitude of the President of Turkmenistan, of our Government and of our people to the United Nations for its support and its understanding.

I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his tireless and innovative work.

Turkmenistan wishes to state without reserve that it will honestly and openly cooperate with all States that share its attachment to the principles of the Organization. Our policies will be based on common sense and on protecting our people's interests. Turkmenistan, in creating a democratic, secular State, is open to peaceful cooperation and ready to engage in broadly-based, mutually beneficial cooperation.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

18th PLENARY MEETING
Wednesday, 6 October 1993 at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (*continued*)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. KIJINER (Marshall Islands): On behalf of the people and the Government of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, I warmly congratulate Ambassador Samuel Insanally on his election as President of what promises to be a historic session of the General Assembly. I would also like to express my country's profound appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, for his superior guidance during a time of unprecedented change.

We are gathered here at a crucial juncture in human history when numerous changes are becoming apparent. Few of us ever imagined that we would witness in our lifetimes the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, a handshake between the leaders of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the peaceful separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia after decades of war, or the transition to a Government in South Africa that is truly representative of its people. In the current international climate we can be optimistic about the peaceful resolution of the difficult problems of our time. However, at the same time our world witnesses these triumphs of the human spirit, it also faces grave new problems, such as the tragedies that are unfolding in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Somalia.

The new order will require fundamental changes in the attitudes and thinking of nations and all mankind. Gone are the clearly defined divisions of super-Power conflict. In their place are a myriad of problems, suppressed during the cold war, that are now resurfacing. The confrontation between East and West has given way to more intricate problems, without readily apparent solutions. There are no easy answers for bringing restraint to the extremes of ethnic and religious nationalism, or promoting human rights and sustainable development. Yet the past few months have shown the real progress that can be made on even the most intractable problems. Rather than wringing our hands, we must draw upon the diversity of views represented in this grand Hall and upon the examples of those who dedicated their lives to the struggle to bring peace to the world.

The world's billions are increasingly looking to the United Nations for solutions. However, as currently structured and financed, the United Nations by itself cannot accommodate the breadth and gravity of the many problems it faces. It is our view that the Organization must be carefully re-evaluated to ensure its effectiveness in a situation of new realities. We support the creation of an Office of Inspector General and will continue to study the various proposals for expansion of the Security Council membership.

As proud Members of this body, we cheer our Organization's successes and are troubled by its few setbacks. The Marshallese people mourn the loss of members of United Nations peace-keeping missions, which are bravely endeavouring to maintain peace and provide assistance to those in danger.

Allow me, for a moment, to address the special situation of the island nations. The physical limitations of

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

93-86770 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.18
22 October 1993

ENGLISH

islands and their lack of natural resources, which larger nations might regard as insurmountable barriers, we, by necessity, view as challenges to overcome. Throughout history, islanders have displayed a remarkable degree of innovation and adaptation, which has allowed us to survive numerous natural and man-made disasters. Our people and way of life were not deterred by the horrors of modern weaponry from which the Marshallese people suffered during the nuclear testing. Despite the end of the super-Power arms race, the world must still confront the grave dangers of nuclear testing, nuclear proliferation, and the production, transit and disposal of nuclear material. The Marshall Islands will forever have a special interest in the dismantling of nuclear weapons because many Marshallese people are still prevented from returning to their ancestors' homeland.

As survivors of that legacy, we very much welcomed the nuclear-testing moratorium. We are greatly distressed that this moratorium has now been broken by one of the nuclear Powers, and we would appeal to the others not to follow this path. I should like to lend my Government's voice to the voices of others that have called for negotiations on a lasting and effective comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty that will enjoy universal adherence. It is the wish of the people of the Marshall Islands that no one else should have to endure the same hardships and physical harm that we did. We pray for a world free from nuclear testing and intend to participate actively in the steps leading to such a treaty.

We were proud to be one of the first signatories of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction earlier this year in Paris. We will do our part to contribute to the goal of the abolition of that immoral class of weapons and commend the many officials who worked on the Convention for their tireless efforts.

Perhaps the most effective way to avoid the grave consequences of nuclear weapons is to address the problem at its source by prohibiting the production of weapons--grade plutonium. We therefore look forward to working on a treaty to this effect, and we commend the United States and others for taking the lead in this regard.

The islands of the Pacific are especially vulnerable to the dangers posed by transport of nuclear material. We hope that such shipments will cease. If they are to continue, the States responsible must take every precaution to ensure that the safety of States along the sea lanes and the high seas is ensured.

All of humanity is shocked by the brutality of nationalist and ethnic conflicts raging throughout the world today. The possibility of introducing nuclear weapons in these disputes threatens global peace and security and raises the spectre of death and suffering on a magnitude never before witnessed. My Government will continue to support all efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

The efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in the area of nuclear safeguards merit special praise. I am very pleased to report that last week the Marshall Islands was accepted as a member of the IAEA, and we look forward to contributing to the work of the Agency. We are confident that the Agency's vast expertise in the area of protection from radiation can shed light on the matter and at the same time come up with remedial treatment for the many Marshallese victims afflicted by numerous cancerous diseases resulting from nuclear testing.

My Government warmly applauds the increased attention by the world community to human rights and democratic institutions. Although it fell short of some of our expectations, this year's World Conference on Human Rights was an important milestone in the efforts to protect the rights of individuals and vulnerable sectors of society. Perhaps more important, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action clearly demonstrated that respect for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms can exist in a context of cultural diversity.

As important as the Vienna Declaration is, it is meaningless without the means to enforce its provisions. We will therefore continue strongly to support efforts aimed at creating a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and a Special Rapporteur for Women's Rights, and we will continue to study proposals for an international court with jurisdiction to consider cases of human-rights violations.

Tomorrow's leaders are today's children. With this in mind, we must ensure that our children are well prepared to accept the mantle that will be passed on to them. For decades, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has advanced this objective with determination, and we are especially appreciative of its assistance to the Marshallese children. We are proud to have recently ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and we encourage others to do the same so that the world may attain UNICEF's goal of universal adherence by the year 2000.

The Marshall Islands are endowed with natural beauty and a rich cultural heritage. The development potential of our islands resides in the preservation of their fragile environment. Because our land area is so limited, we treat it with the greatest respect and conserve it as best we can.

Given the small land area of our atolls, we face constraints to agricultural and industrial development. As the pressure from a growing population increases in my country, additional demands are made on our resources. Regrettably, we have become increasingly dependent on imports to meet basic human needs.

The long distances from markets of many islands result in especially high transport costs. In our case, we are almost 2,000 miles from the nearest major market for our goods. Consequently, transport costs raise the cost of goods to levels that are often not competitive. Even with competitive products, restrictive trade barriers further limit our access to markets. We are hopeful that the negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) will produce a trade agreement that is equitable and fair to all nations.

The Marshall Islands welcomes with gratitude the recently approved country programme of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). It would be especially welcome if this plan of action could assist my country significantly along the road to sustainable development. The spirit of cooperation that was exhibited at the first round-table meeting in 1991 is evident in this programme. It is hoped that this will be the first step in a long and fruitful partnership and that the UNDP will become more responsive to the special needs of the Marshall Islands. Like many of the island States in the region, the Marshall Islands is not a traditional recipient of overseas development aid, and we have few bilateral partners. Given its regional expertise, we are pleased that UNDP is becoming a major focal point for our development assistance. UNDP understands the complexities of the Pacific region and the development challenge for the island States. We hope that the UNDP budget for the region will not be cut back any further. The Pacific is a vast area, and the logistical challenges faced by the field office in Suva, Fiji, are daunting.

Sustainable development is a primary objective of Government planning. We are increasingly aware of the limits that constrain our development potential. We want to prosper on the resources that we have, but we do not want to repeat mistakes that others have made on their road to development. I commend our neighbour, Papua New Guinea, for the important work it has initiated to integrate sustainable development into the framework of international relations.

The Marshall Islands is a small nation, and we increasingly feel the strain caused by our expenditures on the United Nations. We are, of course, very grateful and proud to be a part of this body, but we are becoming worried at the scale of new contributions, particularly for peace-keeping operations. The burden of membership is not shared equally by every citizen of the world, and we would like to see this inequity in contributions addressed in some way. If one looks at the cost of United Nations membership on a *per capita* basis, one sees that the island States are among the very top contributors.

The vulnerability of small islands to natural disasters and to fluctuations in the world economy make it difficult to quantify the well-being of our people. Calculations of *per capita* gross domestic product and other traditional economic indices do not accurately represent the standard of living in the islands. Perhaps other criteria could be devised to reflect the complexities of our situation.

The Marshall Islands was one of the first countries to ratify the Conventions adopted at the Rio Conference on the environment. Developments subsequent to the Rio summit have been closely observed by the Marshall Islands Government. It is our sincere hope that the process initiated at Rio de Janeiro will succeed, so that our islands can be saved from possible destruction by global climate change. The Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States will increase world-wide understanding of the vulnerability of our islands. The Government of Barbados is to be thanked for generously offering to host that Conference next year. We are, however, a little disturbed by the response by some donor countries to the Conference. It must be reiterated that the Conference has its mandate from Rio and from the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, and that it should be considered as a test case for sustainable development. It will be an attempt to address issues that are specific to small island States in their quest for sustainable development. The will of the global community to live up to the promises made in Rio will face its first test, and the implications of the outcome of the Conference will be significant to all.

Throughout history the sea has united my people and has been vital to our lives. It provides our nourishment; it is a source of income; and our culture and traditions have in large part been shaped by the ocean. The majority of

our population derives its livelihood from ocean-based activities, and our territorial waters abound with fish that can feed people around the world. Clearly, our fate is tied to the ocean. Today, however, our way of life is threatened by a rise in the level of the very ocean that has given us life for thousands of years. We are greatly appreciative of the efforts and attention given to the problem by the world community, most notably in the Framework Convention on Climate Change, signed at the Rio Earth Summit, which my Government is proud to have ratified.

However, for a low-lying atoll like the Marshall Islands the Framework Convention may have come too late. We are eager that funds from all sectors of the United Nations system, especially the Global Environment Facility, be made available for the purpose of adaptation to a rise in the sea level. We also realize fully that changes required of residents of industrialized countries will entail considerable sacrifice, at least initially. However, countless studies have shown that steps to reduce carbon-dioxide emissions would greatly benefit those countries in the future.

The threat to the Marshall Islands is imminent. Our way of life is threatened. My country is threatened with a loss of identity and culture. We are powerless in the hands of others and my country may cease to exist as a result.

I would like everyone in this Hall to visit our corner of the world before it disappears. I hope that 30 years from today our islands will not have been swamped by the sea and that we will be able to invite you again, rather than referring you to a page in a history book. For many, the Marshall Islands may be little more than specks on the map. The peoples of the Pacific hold a very different view of the world: that the world would be greatly diminished by the loss of even one of the diverse cultures that have been crafted by mankind.

Let us strive during the coming months to work in tandem and to endeavour to fulfil the grand aspirations and lofty goals that this Organization represents. As we do this, allow me to offer a Marshallese proverb to guide our work: "*Jouj eo mour eo, lej eo mij eo*" - "Alone we cannot survive, but together we are strong".

Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) *(interpretation from Arabic):* At the outset, I take pleasure, Sir, in congratulating you sincerely, on behalf of the delegation of the State of Bahrain's delegation, on your election as President of the Assembly at this session. As you assume your important task, it is my pleasure also to wish you success in carrying out your duties and to assure you of my delegation's full cooperation with you in making the work of this session a success.

I take this opportunity to convey thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, who conducted the proceedings of the last session with skill and efficiency.

It is also my pleasure to mention with great appreciation the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to further the objectives of the United Nations and his tireless drive to enhance the Organization's role in maintaining international peace and security.

I should also like to take this opportunity to extend our warmest congratulations to the delegations of the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Eritrea, the Principality of Monaco and the Principality of Andorra on their accession to the membership of the United Nations.

Because of the important issues on our agenda, this session of the General Assembly is a significant one indeed. These issues under consideration demand close attention, if we are to benefit from the object lessons of the past in formulating future parameters, as is required by the ever-accelerating changes in the international arena. As we look at the historical events, that have followed upon one another, we find that the world is in the midst of a qualitative transformation that is virtually unprecedented. If we examine the causes and aspects of that transformation, we shall find that the conflict that raged between the eastern and the western blocs was no mere ideological dispute articulated in academic forums. Rather, it was a violent political type of rivalry that escalated into grave military confrontations that were, at times, direct and at others, indirect, between the super-Powers. The past few years, however, have witnessed the end of that conflict, and this in turn has entailed major changes in the political outlook of various world Powers.

It is regrettable indeed that, in the midst of these changes, new problems have surfaced and have thus strengthened our conviction that the ending of the cold war will not make the world a more secure and stable place. For all its conflicts and tensions the cold war, when it ended, contrary to all expectations has brought to the surface the banes of extreme nationalism and such

aberrations as "ethnic cleansing", things which had been dormant in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

This has led, in certain regions, to acts of violence that threaten to change the very nature of relations between States at a time when the path of international politics has become really bumpy as a result of the restructuring of the world order. This is a time of profound change in the lives of States and nations in which people's aspirations after stability and development merge with the fears generated by the gap between a developed, affluent world and a world that is unable to meet the minimum requirements of decent living.

The major transformations that are taking place today, in the areas of politics, technology and information, underscore the fact that our world has become a truly global village and that the scientific revolution is about to bring down the barriers and boundaries between its various countries and regions. It is regrettable indeed, at such a juncture, that while we stand on the threshold of a new century of man's history, we perceive that the interests of humanity lag behind the advances made by science and technology. It is paradoxical indeed that the increased interdependence dictated by the developments that are taking place at the present time should go hand in hand with political fragmentation and clash of interests as individual States pursue their own narrow interests and ambitions.

Such a situation should urge us to look at what is going on around us with a large magnifying glass so that we may be able to fathom the depths of international problems and scrutinize their interlocking strands on the wider screen of the global scene. If we take the measure of the rapid changes in the international arena, we may be able to foresee the enormity of the dangers that the future may bring and the extent of the harm to peoples' security and stability that may result therefrom. For, in a world whose spaces and distances have shrunk and whose different parts have come closer together more than at any other time before, peace cannot be achieved in one region while the peace of another region is left at the mercy of tensions. It is therefore incumbent upon us all to develop a practical strategy for the future through a new outlook that would be capable of grasping and understanding the nature and drift of the changes and harnessing them in the service of humanity as a whole and for the strengthening of security throughout the world.

After this introduction, which reflects the way we see the past and look at the present, my delegation should like to share with you certain thoughts on the building of the post-cold-war world:

Firstly: there should be agreement on new concepts concerning the issues of world peace and development that would rid the world of the residues and perceptions of the ideological and strategic thinking that prevailed throughout the cold-war period;

Secondly: appropriate criteria should be defined for the achievement of world stability through the common security of all States;

Thirdly: existing and traditional boundaries between States should be respected, and all boundary disputes should be resolved by peaceful means that are agreed upon by the parties concerned; and

Fourthly: there should be support for the United Nations, as the appropriate international tool for the establishment of a new international order where justice, equality, respect for international resolutions and the abandonment of double standards prevail.

War and peace are inseparable opposites. Given this perspective, the most difficult task in international politics is to devise an effective machinery to prevent the causes of war on the one hand, and to preserve, maintain or keep the peace, on the other. It is our conviction that current international developments have created favourable conditions for making use of the United Nations potential to create a political climate that would be favourable for developing the foundations of a collective security system.

Here it should be pointed out that one of the most important means suggested for promoting collective security is the use of preventive diplomacy to prevent disputes from arising between parties and to prevent existing disputes from escalating, and the development of preventive deployment of United Nations forces in such a way as to allow those forces to defuse potential tensions in any region of the world. We hope that Member States will reach a consensus on the formation of such forces, and that cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations can be enhanced so that the regional organizations' experience and their human and material resources in the field of peace-keeping can be tapped.

In this context, I applaud the current cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States and emphasize the importance of enhancing and

strengthening the existing relations between the two organizations in all fields.

The United Nations now approaches its fiftieth anniversary. The peoples of the world, with their hopes and aspirations, continue to look to the Organization to lead the way to the turning of a new leaf in the history of international relations so that they can finally enjoy the security, peace and stability for which they have long yearned.

The world Organization has managed, since its beginnings, to achieve some of the purposes of the Charter, but has failed to achieve others. It is now at a juncture where new hopes, accompanied by new problems, have arisen. Over the last five decades, the membership of the Organization has risen from 51 States in 1954 to 184 in 1993. This calls for restructuring the Organization's principal organs, especially the Secretariat and the Security Council. We welcome the Secretary-General's statement, in his Agenda for Peace, that important steps have been taken to reorganize the Secretariat in order to avoid duplication and overlapping of functions and to enhance its effectiveness. We call for further reforms to be effected, methodically, so that the Secretariat can perform its duties to the optimum.

As for the Security Council and its role in the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of this important organ and the review of the provisions relating to its membership have recently been the object of world attention. Consequently, the General Assembly has included in the agenda of its forty-eighth session an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council".

The inclusion of this item has taken place in response to the desire of many States to emphasize the importance of adequate and equitable representation in the membership of this important organ in line with the increase in the membership of the Organization and the glaring disparity between the composition of the Council and the membership of the United Nations. From 20 per cent in 1945, the proportion has dropped to 8 per cent now. We support the call for a review of the composition of the Security Council that would ensure equitable geographical representation.

I should like, in this connection, to refer to the resolution adopted by the Arab League Council at its regular session, held in Cairo from 19 through 21 September 1993, which calls upon the United Nations to take due consideration of the need for equitable geographical representation and to establish a permanent seat on the Security Council for the Arab Group.

We should like to stress that it is vitally important to ensure that in adopting any of the proposed formulas for increasing the membership of the Security Council, care must be taken that this should not lead to impeding the proper functioning by the Council in carrying out its duties, and that the power of veto should not be used as a means of undermining the decision-making process or of diluting the urgent nature of critical issues, especially those which have to do with peace and security.

In recent weeks, a ray of hope that augurs well for the future of world peace has appeared on the horizon of the Middle East and the world at large: namely, the accord signed by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel. We have consistently encouraged any sign of movement towards a peaceful, just and comprehensive settlement of the Palestine question. There is firm hope today that this step will be a precursor to a real opening for peace and stability in the Middle East region.

While we welcome this significant and historic step, we view it as a first step on the road to a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and other resolutions of international legality as well as the land-for-peace principle. We hope that efforts will continue to be made towards the speedy implementation of the provisions of the accord and that the negotiations between other Arab parties and Israel will make progress on the other tracks so that the existing opportunities for peace may be put to good use.

We look forward to the day when the Israeli forces will withdraw from the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, including Holy Jerusalem, the occupied Syrian Golan Heights and the occupied Lebanese and Jordanian territories, and to the day when the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return for the Palestinian refugees, will be guaranteed, in consonance with relevant United Nations resolutions.

It should be emphasized that stability in the Middle East is fully dependent on its being freed from chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. Declaring the Middle East a region free of weapons of mass destruction would enable its States to focus their attention on questions of

economic, scientific and technological development and would encourage them to cooperate in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to make a constructive contribution to the maintenance of world peace.

Two devastating wars have swept over the Gulf, and their consequences have adversely affected development in the area. It behooves us, therefore, to intensify efforts to keep that important area free of any further tensions, through the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and through respect for the principles of territorial integrity and political independence, the sovereignty of States over their own resources, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and strict observance of the norms of international legality.

We should like to emphasize the need for Iraq to implement Security Council resolutions relevant to its aggression against the State of Kuwait, and in particular the provisions of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) relating, *inter alia*, to the release of Kuwaiti and other prisoners of war and detainees, and to recognize the international boundaries between Kuwait and Iraq as demarcated and set out in Security Council resolution 833 (1993).

We also hope that the dialogue between the United Arab Emirates and the Islamic Republic of Iran will lead to the settlement of all outstanding questions regarding the three islands of Abu Mousa, Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb in a manner that would guarantee the rights of the United Arab Emirates as set out in the resolutions of the Gulf States Cooperation Council.

The international arena has witnessed some development, this year, in relation to the situation in Somalia. Although that situation continues to irk the conscience of the international community, the United Nations has been able, through the efforts of a large number of its members, to restore peace in most parts of Somalia. Security Council resolution 814 (1993) has had a positive effect in improving the situation after the drawn out suffering experienced by the people of that country. We should like to voice support for United Nations efforts to rebuild the political, economic and social infrastructure of Somalia. We hope that the Somali people will be able to reach comprehensive national reconciliation between the various factions.

The world has been following the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite all the efforts deployed in an attempt to contain the conflict, we see no glimmer of hope that aggression against that country will cease. The Serbian side rejected the Vance-Owen peace plan, while the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina accepted it. Massacres and acts of aggression against Bosnian cities continue unabated, and the Serb forces have committed the most atrocious crimes of genocide and "ethnic cleansing" in open defiance of the international community. Yet the Security Council has not taken any effective measure to suppress the aggression or to enable the legitimate Bosnian Government to defend itself. That, surely, sends the wrong message to all those who do not believe in the system of international collective security and could give rise to a surge of violence and extremism that would have an adverse effect on the United Nations endeavours to contain existing and potential conflicts in the world.

The international community is duty-bound to move urgently to stop the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to safeguard the legitimate rights of its people, to force the aggressors to comply with the principles of international legality, to prevent any demographic change or any territorial gains through the policy of *fait accompli* pursued by the Serbs and the Croats, and to enable the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to exercise the right of self-defence by lifting the embargo on arms supplies to it.

It is regrettable, at a time when the features of a new world order are beginning to take shape, that Central Asia should be in the grip of a situation of instability that threatens to tear it apart. Internal strife continues without let up in Tajikistan and Georgia and the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan has grown even more vicious. In this connection, my delegation supports Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993), which reaffirm the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and of all other States in the region and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory. We reaffirm our endorsement of the efforts made by the United Nations and regional organizations to restore stability in that region.

For years, the Cyprus problem has continued to defy solution. We are encouraged, however, by the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring the two Cypriot parties closer to agreement. Despite the remaining obstacles that obstruct the settlement of this problem, it is our view that the good offices of the Secretary-General should continue until a solution that would be satisfactory to both parties may be reached.

With regard to the situation in Cambodia, positive results have been achieved, and the United Nations,

through the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), has been able to restore political stability to that country. We should like on this occasion to extend our sincere congratulations to the people and Government of Cambodia on the outcome of their efforts in pursuit of national reconciliation and peace. We also commend the constructive efforts of UNTAC in carrying out its mandate in Cambodia.

South Africa is now going through a significant and crucial phase in its march towards political reform. The main features of this reform are the agreement on the drafting of a new constitution, the formation of a new transitional multi-party Government, and the agreement to hold constitutional elections in April 1994. These developments demonstrate the sincere desire of all parties in South Africa to turn a new leaf in their relations. We support the reforms currently under way in South Africa and welcome Nelson Mandela's call, in his recent address at the United Nations, for lifting the economic sanctions now in place against South Africa.

Although the fires of the cold war have been put out and have become something of the past, we cannot but voice our concern over the numerous difficulties which continue to beset the world economy. The gap is still wide between the average *per capita* income in developing countries and that in developed countries. In 1992, that figure was over $18,000 in the developed countries, while in the developing countries it did not exceed $800. There are distressing indications that the rate of world economic growth lags behind the rate of world population growth.

The continuing social deterioration and lack of economic security which result from continuous political upheavals will undoubtedly impede economic development in the long term. So long as the world economy continues to stagnate, the urgent social problems connected with the economy, in the areas of population, health, housing and environment, will continue to defy solution.

Any change in the world economy, whether it be negative or positive, affects every State. The world economy stands in need of the political will that should lead all the States of the world, especially the developed countries, to cooperate in solving those problems that face us all. This makes it incumbent upon us all to strengthen the role of the United Nations, as the Organization that has continued for about half a century, to embrace the countries of the world with the distinctive and varied experiences each and every country has gained in the areas of developmental coordination and cooperation.

Over the past decades, the world has been focusing on economic development owing to the immediate and speedy returns it generates for the world economy. Voices have been raised in the United Nations, in recent years, urging that attention should be paid to social development as well. This has led to the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 47/92, in which it decided to convene a World Summit for Social Development early in 1995. We hope that those in charge of preparations for that conference will reach agreement to further those objectives of the Charter set out in Article 55, relating to the promotion of higher standards of living, conditions of economic and social progress and development as well as to the resolution of international economic and social problems.

Our planet faces man-made environmental threats whose consequences are unpredictable. The Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro was an important step towards world partnership in combating those environmental threats. We should like, in this context, to reiterate our support for the efforts to contain the threats to our environment, and we hope that the programmes adopted by the Rio Summit, especially those included in Agenda 21, will be implemented.

The attention focused on population problems stems from the tremendous density of population in some countries and the adverse effects that density has on development. We welcome the efforts by the United Nations and particularly by the United Nations Population Fund, to address such issues. We hope that the International Conference on Population and Development scheduled to be held in Cairo next year, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 47/176, will adopt recommendations that may ensure the resolution of urgent population and development problems in the next decade.

Several years have passed since the world first witnessed that novel, unique situation in the history of international relations, namely the ending of bipolarity. The result of this is that the world now stands at the crossroads of history, where it faces difficult challenges. This is especially so because certain evil tendencies have caused the eruption of volcanoes of malevolent hatreds and racism, which have destroyed many hopes and shattered the expectations of millions of people to achieve security and prosperity for future generations.

It may be appropriate to stop here and wonder whether the United Nations has done all it should to address the problems that have surfaced due to this major transformation in world order? Has the machinery which

we and many others have called for been made available to the world Organization to enable it to fulfil its role in a manner that is compatible with the developments of our time? Even if the United Nations has moved as we had hoped, have the Member States made available to it the material and moral resources to enable it to take effective action to address all of the world problems, wherever they may appear?

We do not believe anyone in today's world searches for the Utopia described in Plato's *Republic* or Farabi's *Ideal City*. Yet everyone would like to see the United Nations made able to achieve practical solutions for world problems. For it is our conviction that any blood shed by a hand prompted by an ethnic bigotry or racial hatred would be a clear indication of our failure to respond to the aspirations of all our peoples.

It is in this context that we call for resorting to reason in trying to understand the new phenomena and to deal with political, economic and social problems in a rational and dispassionate manner. The time has come for issues relating to international and regional security and development to be put in their proper realistic perspectives, without any idealistic flights of fancy. Such problems should be dealt with in the light of the objective realities of the world we live in with all its successive developments, so that the solutions devised for them may be applicable in the current atmosphere of inter-State rivalries. We are confident that, with political will, material support and moral encouragement, it will be possible for the United Nations to perform its role in steering the ship of hope towards the shores of security and peace we all seek.

ADDRESS BY MR. CHUAN LEEKPAI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand.

Mr. Chuan Leekpai, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, His Excellency Mr. Chuan Leekpai, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. LEEKPAI (Thailand): On behalf of the Government and the people of Thailand, may I extend my warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. I am confident that you will provide the Assembly with the necessary leadership and direction in this period of systemic change in the international order.

I also wish to congratulate Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria for having guided the forty-seventh session of the Assembly to a successful conclusion.

Allow me also to express our admiration to and support for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for his untiring efforts in guiding the United Nations through this period, when the Organization is being called upon to undertake peace-keeping activities around the globe on a scale unprecedented in its history. I also wish to congratulate him on his vision, so lucidly expressed in his report, "An Agenda for Peace." We look forward with anticipation to his forthcoming report on an agenda for development.

It is with great pleasure that we welcome, as full Members of the United Nations, Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, Monaco, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and the Slovak Republic. We sincerely believe that these States' assumption of their rightful places in the family of nations will further strengthen the universal character of the United Nations.

Before proceeding further, may I, on behalf of the Government and the people of Thailand, convey profound sympathy to and express solidarity with the Government and the people of India following the massive destruction and loss of life that resulted from the devastating earthquake last week.

With the end of the cold war, a new spirit of friendly cooperation prevails in South-East Asia. The international settlement of the Cambodian problem means that, for the first time in recent memory, the region is free of major armed conflict. With a view to constructing a new regional order of peace, harmony and prosperity, we the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are seeking to intensify various cooperative efforts among ourselves and with our neighbours and our friends outside the region.

ASEAN was born in Bangkok more than 26 years ago, when the cold war was at its height. Now, at the end of the cold war, ASEAN has attained the political and economic standing to play a greater role in the affairs of the region and beyond. Thailand will assume the ASEAN

chairmanship this year, and it looks forward to working with all concerned, both within and outside the Association, to advance the causes of peace and prosperity in South-East Asia.

As the ASEAN member geographically closest to the rest of South-East Asia, Thailand is in a unique position to serve as a bridge to our non-ASEAN neighbours. Thus, my Government wholeheartedly welcomes the accession by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, which sets the broad framework for enhanced cooperation in South-East Asia. We earnestly hope that the day is not too distant when Laos and Viet Nam, together with Cambodia, which is on the path towards rejoining the international community, will become full members of ASEAN.

In seizing the opportunity to help to forge a new regional order of cooperative peace and common prosperity, ASEAN is increasingly appreciative of the function of multilateral diplomacy - particularly the enhanced cooperation between ASEAN and the United Nations.

For well over a decade, Cambodia has commanded the attention of the world. ASEAN and the United Nations have been working closely with each other to secure a durable political settlement of the Cambodian problem. In Cambodia, the United Nations has just undertaken one of the most comprehensive peace-keeping operations in its history. The Organization - essentially through the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) - must be congratulated for organizing the massive repatriation of Cambodian refugees from neighbouring Thailand and the crucial elections that resulted in the creation of a democratically elected majority Government in Cambodia, thus enhancing the prospect of national reconciliation. I should like to express my Government's appreciation to Mr. Yasushi Akashi, to his colleagues and to the men and women of UNTAC for successfully fulfilling their mission of helping to restore peace to Cambodia. Above all, our warmest congratulations go to the courageous Cambodian people themselves and, in particular, to His Majesty Samdech Norodom Sihanouk for his vital role in the restoration of the Cambodian nation.

Besides facilitating the return of more than 300,000 Cambodians to their homeland, Thailand had cooperated with the United Nations from the outset. We participated in the mine-clearing and road-building operations in western Cambodia, and, as I speak, Thailand is working closely with UNTAC in implementing the withdrawal of the remaining UNTAC personnel. Thailand will continue to participate in the international community's efforts to rehabilitate Cambodia. To this end, we welcome the success of the International Conference on the Reconstruction of Cambodia that was held in Paris in September this year. With the return of peace and normality to Cambodia, we are confident that the country will resume its rightful place in the South-East Asian family of nations. Thailand pledges its friendship and cooperation to the newly elected Government of Cambodia as it embarks on the path of nation-building.

In the post-cold-war world, the changing concept of security provides further impetus for the regional role of the United Nations. In the present era, security is defined in far broader terms than in the past. In particular, the non-military aspect of security has assumed greater urgency than, and now takes precedence over, its military dimension. It is now seen more as a confidence-building process than as a process of either defence or deterrence. Activities to "reassure" other parties, political dialogue and similar arrangements to engender and enhance mutual understanding, mutually beneficial collaborative efforts to solve common problems, crisis-management mechanisms and other preventive measures could all be subsumed under the heading of security.

Such a concept of security, particularly at the regional level, fits in well with the preventive-diplomacy approach. This is one area in which there is potential for the United Nations to define its role as being to strengthen and facilitate regional cooperation and understanding.

Naturally, all efforts in this regard must be undertaken within a multilateral framework. The collaborative agenda for preventive diplomacy would include conflict forecasting, conflict avoidance or prevention, conflict management, and the prevention of conflict escalation. In this regard, my Government welcomes the Secretary-General's excellent and comprehensive report "An Agenda for Peace", which represents new thinking and an innovative approach to strengthening the role of the United Nations. Moreover, my Government is heartened by the enthusiasm that Member States have shown for the report. Our next step must be full and speedy implementation of the recommendations put forward in the report, as well as those contained in various Security Council documents and in General Assembly resolution 47/120, which was adopted at the last session.

A mature and self-confident ASEAN is in a singular position to enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in South-East Asia - particularly in the areas of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building. In the aftermath of the cold war, the success of the United Nations depends very much on close cooperation with countries in target regions. Put simply, the United Nations needs all the help it can get. Regional organizations can help to identify potential conflicts and, together with the United Nations, contain them before they erupt. Cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization with a solid track record - such as ASEAN - can compensate for the weaknesses of any organization acting singly.

To explore how best the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) could act in accordance with the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace", Thailand has initiated and organized, in collaboration with our ASEAN partner Singapore, a series of international workshops on ASEAN-United Nations cooperation for peace and preventive diplomacy.

The rationale behind this initiative is simple enough. The threat to international peace, actual or potential, often arises out of a certain specific region. With cold-war constraints on United Nations regional intervention removed, the Organization is in an ideal position to cooperate with ASEAN to ensure peace and stability in South-East Asia.

The foundation for such cooperation already exists. The ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia forms the basis for a new code of conduct in the region and was endorsed by the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

Other factors may also favour United Nations preventive diplomacy in South-East Asia. One of these is the regional presence of the major Powers. Under certain circumstances, the United Nations provides a framework for action by major Powers. A case in point is Japan's peace-keeping role in the region under the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. Arrangements could thus be made for these nations to play a "legitimate" crisis-prevention role involving, for example, political dialogue and mediation. Similarly, the regional economic development imperative may add impetus to United Nations regional involvement. The Organization has long been in place in South-East Asia in this regard. Its development commitments to and development efforts in the region have been evident in the location there of various United Nations regional bodies.

The next step will be to work out specific functional arrangements for ASEAN-United Nations cooperation. It is anticipated that the third and final workshop, to be held in Bangkok in January 1994, will come up with suggestions on appropriate mechanisms for fostering the conditions for regional peace and prosperity through closer cooperation between ASEAN and the United Nations.

The improved outlook for greater economic cooperation in the region is manifest in the enthusiasm for economic networking. Within ASEAN we have set up the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) to intensify intra-ASEAN economic cooperation and attract outside investment. The countries of South-East Asia are taking up the challenge of forging economic linkages through various schemes known as "growth triangles", "growth quadrangles" and "special economic zones". These linkages will help further promote the spirit of friendship and cooperation and serve to provide a nucleus for greater interaction with other parts of the world.

A livable world is a world in which governmental development strategies can be implemented in a favourable international environment. The international economy must provide a supportive climate for achieving environment and development goals. Among others, we must further pursue the liberalization of global trade policies, promote the efficient allocation of the world's resources, make trade and environment mutually compatible, and provide adequate financial and technical resources to developing countries.

These measures are prerequisites for creating a more prosperous world, where countries share their wealth in a liberal trading system and where fair competition is guaranteed by broadly accepted rules. For this reason, my Government believes that an early and successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round is imperative to revitalizing world trade. Thailand joins our ASEAN partners in welcoming the renewed determination and commitment of the industrialized countries at the recent Group of Seven meeting in Tokyo to resolve remaining problems and to conclude the Round by the end of this year.

Balanced world development is not only an enlightened aim, it is the foundation for the enduring progress of all societies. And this should be the basis for reactivating North-South cooperation. It should mark a

new beginning in international development cooperation based on the principle of the Cartagena commitments. It must go beyond aid to embrace partnership and reciprocal responsibilities. It must address global and regional concerns by meeting local needs.

The global consensus reached at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro last year has equipped us to take collective action to meet new priorities. We have built the consensus to pursue development which goes beyond economic growth. It is development in a comprehensive sense, guided by principles of equality and justice, and underpinned by social and ecological responsibility. As we, the leaders, proclaim change, we must demonstrate our political conviction through national policies that are in line with the international consensus.

My Government is fully committed to the implementation of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) agreement. Our national development plan for 1992 to 1996 reflects our determination to achieve sustainable development. My Government has taken various necessary administrative and legal steps to integrate the environment with development and to implement the programme of action as reflected in Agenda 21.

As my Government is the first elected Government following the May incident of 1992, we are more keenly aware of the intimate links between democracy, development, and human rights. Hence, democratization must be accompanied by sustained efforts to further the cause of human dignity and freedom.

Forty-five years ago, Thailand joined the international community in adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since then, the international community has achieved a number of positive results in the protection and promotion of human rights.

From the time of the first International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran in 1968, the international community has assumed new responsibilities not only to protect but also to promote human rights. The time has come to work on the prevention of human rights abuses.

Last June, the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna concluded with a consensus document. The Vienna Declaration brings together views on fundamental rights, and serves as a universal basis from which the international community will proceed. Thailand reaffirms its commitment to and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as set out in the Vienna Declaration and Plan of Action.

The task before us now is to implement the recommendations of the Conference. In this regard, the United Nations has a central role to play. The Organization, with the collective efforts of its Member States, must strengthen the mechanisms for allocating sufficient human and financial resources to carry out the activities required of it.

Before I conclude, may I emphasize that Thailand has been fortunate enough to have the benefit of the guidance and wisdom of their Majesties the King and Queen in all spheres of national life. Indeed, our monarchy has been the symbol of national unity, a beacon of hope and the ultimate source of strength in the hearts of all Thai people.

Mr. President, let me conclude my statement by wishing you every success in your new responsibilities. You have a long and important session of the General Assembly ahead of you. I have no doubt that you will fulfil your responsibilities with great dignity and distinction.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Chuan Leekpai, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. ZIELENIEC (Czech Republic): Mr. President, let me start by congratulating you on your election to this high office. I am sure that under your leadership this year's General Assembly will be particularly successful and effective.

Today is the first time that a representative of the Czech Republic has had the honour to address the United Nations General Assembly as part of the general debate. The Czech Republic is indeed a new State. Still, the division of Czechoslovakia is nothing to be happy about. It is always better for equal communities to unite than to separate. However, once we determined that the continued existence of Czechoslovakia could not be assured by quiet and peaceful means, we strove to separate peacefully. While in other parts of the world similar separations are frequently accompanied by terror and violence, in our country not a single window pane was broken. This experience makes us believe that good will and common

sense can lead to peaceful settlements, even of problems traditionally accompanied by violence.

The Czech Republic is currently undergoing profound political and economic changes. On the political side, we are constructing a democratic regime in what used to be the communist world. The Government has proven to be a stable one. Meanwhile, we emphasize human rights, and our robust press freedom as well as our human-rights record have been recognized even by very finicky non-partisan international organizations.

On the economic side, the Czech Republic has also chalked up certain successes. Privatization of property that was formerly State-owned is continuing apace. Prices are being freed so that they can find their natural, market-driven level. Meanwhile, we have managed to maintain tight monetary policies, keep inflation and unemployment at rather modest levels, and hold to a balanced budget. We live within our means.

In this context, let me emphasize one thing. We are managing the process of economic transformation with our own efforts and our own resources. We do not ask for direct financial assistance. We do not seek to siphon off scarce development resources from countries whose situation is much worse than ours. We tell our friends from developed countries, "We seek trade not aid from you. Open your markets to us, not your pocketbooks." Actually, open markets would benefit all of us, whether our economies are developed or developing, settled or in transition. This is why we are convinced that the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would finally benefit us all.

In addition to the transition of our domestic political system and the transformation of our economic system, we have also modified our foreign policy. One of our foreign policy priorities concerns Slovakia. Over the last months, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic have been learning how to live together as two independent countries, rather than as two regions of the same country. We have concluded a series of agreements and treaties, and have become used to having an international border between us - a border, I stress, which is peaceful.

We are assuming our natural place in Europe. My country has recently been accepted as a member of the Council of Europe, which my President is about to address in a day or two. Just two days ago in Luxembourg I signed a Europe Agreement with the European Economic Community. Also unmistakable is the transatlantic dimension of our diplomacy, as exemplified by our activities within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation (NACC), and by our interest in joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Our relations with the developing world have also been changing. On the one hand, there is a long history of friendly relations with many countries which we are now trying to put on a new and more balanced footing. On the other hand, we are seeking cooperation with a number of important countries which until recently had been ignored for political reasons. Thousands of physicians and technicians from the developing world who have been trained in our universities act today as so many goodwill ambassadors for us. I am sure that in a short time we will be able to provide appropriate economic assistance to needy regions of the world, preferably through multilateral channels.

Our foreign policy is that of a small country and reflects that country's position in Europe and in the world. It is, however, an independent foreign policy which is not beholden to anyone and which does not blindly copy the foreign policy of any other country.

The end of the cold war era is connected with the fall of European communism, and its consequences have not yet been fully grasped. While the danger of a world nuclear catastrophe has significantly abated, conflicts provoked by political, ethnic, religious, social and economic disputes have flared up. Meanwhile, rays of hope have appeared in regions where we perhaps did not expect them. I have in mind the prospects for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, the shaping of a democratic process in the Republic of South Africa and last, but not least, the success of the United Nations in Cambodia.

In recent days we have been following with great concern developments in the Russian Federation. We had hoped that Russia's problems would be settled peacefully, but the anti-reformist opposition initiated violence. Free and democratic elections are the only solution to the situation. Elections will determine whether those who waved the Russian flag in Moscow or those who waved the communist red flag should guide Russia's future.

Post-cold-war conflicts have shaken many of the values, principles and certainties with which we have been living. Nowhere have these values been questioned as radically and as viciously as in the countries of the former

Yugoslavia during the several wars that have taken place there in recent years. Wars in the former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus and elsewhere have made us aware of the need to ask old questions anew, to re-examine concepts that have been basic to international politics since the Second World War.

These questions concern, for example, self-determination; the role of internal borders as new States emerge; non-interference in internal affairs; international recognition of new States and its timing; and probably others. We will need to scrutinize them far more daringly and rigorously and with far greater imagination. Here, I think, is where some of the greatest challenges for the United Nations will arise in the immediate future. This is treacherous ground, but it might offer one possible vehicle in the search for guidance in the times ahead.

Today, however, the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina seems to be resulting in a division of that country along ethnic lines. We find the enforced coincidence of statehood with ethnicity odious. We cherish the principle of a civic society in which citizens enjoy equal rights regardless of their ethnic background, mother tongue or religious creed. By contrast, we feel that ethnic, not to mention religious, purity is a concept from another age, irrelevant in the modern world. We regard as inadmissible any violent changes of frontiers as well as "ethnic cleansing" accompanied by massive and flagrant violations of human rights.

One need not stress how important for my country - particularly when it was not free - was adherence to human rights, including their codification by the United Nations. Individual, universally valid human rights and their observance are inseparably linked to democracy and prosperity. This year's World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna was an important turning-point. In our opinion, a more effective use of the means spent on the protection of human rights, the concentration of activities into one body, and the establishment of the office of a high commissioner for human rights would be steps in the right direction.

The Czech Republic is proud of its share in the work of the United Nations. Let me mention some of our contributions. Currently we have military observers in Mozambique and in the former Yugoslavia. Two more teams are to be deployed in Georgia and in Liberia. Others have helped keep the peace in Angola and in Somalia. We have an infantry battalion stationed in Croatia under the command of the United Nations Protection Force. Our civilian observers monitored Haiti's elections. Our military participated in the liberation of Kuwait. Our specialists are working for the United Nations Special Commission. A large group of security personnel is about to join the United Nations guard contingent in Iraq. Our officers also served for 40 years on the armistice line in Korea as members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. This demonstrates our tradition of service to the international community, a tradition of shouldering our fair share of the international burden.

Along different lines, we have participated for 30 years in the work of the United Nations decolonization Committee. And as I look around this Hall, I realize that there is not a single country among the 130 or so which have been admitted after the founding of the United Nations that we would not have helped assume its seat here.

As members of the Assembly know, the Czech Republic is running in elections for one of the non-permanent seats on the Security Council. We are running on our record - our record of service and the record of our experience. On this basis I ask members for their support in the forthcoming elections.

As many have already mentioned in the general debate, the world is different than it was 50 years ago. Consequently, the United Nations and its Security Council have reached a turning-point. Still, it is the considered opinion of my Government that, on the whole, the Security Council now serves us well. In the past few years, it has ceased to be a mere side-show in world politics. Indeed, it has frequently come to occupy centre stage. As a result, the Council and the United Nations as a whole are striving to meet the rising expectations the world is pinning on them.

Whatever changes we suggest, we must proceed responsibly in efforts to reform the Council, in the spirit of mutual understanding and consensus. The Security Council must adapt to the new political, economic, social and security realities of the world. Some countries have become important members of the international community. An expansion of the Security Council must above all respect principles of effectiveness and responsibility for implementing its own decisions. A just geographical representation is equally important.

However, some changes should be made today. There is a certain sense of frustration among non-members of the

Security Council, which is steadily increasing the number of its informal meetings behind closed doors. We need greater transparency. We need more communication. We need a better balance between the Council and the General Assembly.

In this respect, distributing the monthly agenda of the Security Council to Members is a welcome first step. Inviting the chairmen of regional groups for briefings is also helpful. I am sure that the Council will find further measures along these lines that could be implemented immediately. If the Czech Republic is elected, my Permanent Mission will try to identify other such measures.

The credibility of the United Nations hangs on, *inter alia*, the performance of some 80,000 military and civilian members of United Nations forces in 17 peace-keeping operations all over the world. Crisis management now includes not only the classical separation of adversaries but also the protection of humanitarian convoys, the monitoring of elections and the observance of human rights. Peace-keepers are sent more often to countries where there are no functioning Governments and where agreements are worth only the paper they are written on. Thus, Blue Helmets are increasingly becoming the targets of uncontrolled armed groups. Even as we hold this general debate, members of peace-keeping forces are dying in clashes with warlords.

The Czech Republic welcomes the intensifying discussion of the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace". The resolution adopted at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly is a first step, however small, in the right direction. However, much more intensive cooperation not only among Member States but also between Member States and the United Nations Secretariat is needed in order to create an effective mechanism of functioning peace-keeping. The work of our Organization must correspond to the changing character of peace-keeping. One interesting idea is the proposal to create a working group under the auspices of the Security Council that would review these issues and prepare proposals and recommendations.

The considerable number of regional and domestic conflicts is a part of the global security picture. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional institutions is another useful instrument for solving them. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is one organization that plays an important role in the Euro-Asian area. The first formal step towards cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE was resolution 47/10, adopted at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly. Not by accident, the cooperation and coordination of these two organizations was formalized during Czechoslovakia's presidency of the CSCE. The limited resources of both organizations force us to try to coordinate and complement their operations and missions.

Guided by our own vital interests, we have been striving to develop closer cooperation and interaction with organizations capable of giving effective security guarantees. This, however, does not mean we want passively to let others look after our security. On the contrary, we wish to be active participants in this two-way process. This effort involves, for example, the following: first, our constructive contribution, as a country with an advanced nuclear industry, towards the strengthening of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its extension beyond 1995; secondly, the adoption of obligations to reduce the risks of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, particularly through joining the Missile Technology Control Regime and the so-called Australia Group; and thirdly, the early ratification and thorough implementation of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons.

A financial crisis is threatening our Organization. The financial discipline of Member States is but one prerequisite for improving the situation. Equally important is the need to make more effective use of available resources and to strengthen the control of Member States in using them. We need to make better use of existing control mechanisms. We favour the creation of a strong, meaningful post of an inspector general.

The United Nations system also pays great attention to the problems of social development, and a lot of good work has been done since development programmes and specialized agencies were established. The Czech Republic considers the problems of economic and social development to be one of the priorities for international policy-making, as these issues directly influence other current burning issues, such as local and ethnic wars, drugs, poverty and undernourishment in some regions of the world.

However, despite the numerous successes of specialized agencies, there is considerable space for further improvement of their performance and efficiency. We think there is room for improvement in, *inter alia*, focusing

more carefully on specific targets; eliminating overlap in some activities; utilizing available resources more effectively; reducing bureaucracy and enhancing flexibility; and developing greater cooperation among agencies.

Environmental issues are also high on our agenda, as parts of our country are in the most environmentally devastated areas of the world. The situation is not only taking its toll on people's health but is also undermining the economy of the country as a whole. Sustainable development is more than a new-fangled catchword for us: in our country, it means finding the right balance between environmental concerns and aspirations of development.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was an important step forward in tackling this problem in all its dimensions. All UNCED-related decisions adopted at the forty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly are very important. The Czech Republic will take part in their implementation, even if not all of them relate directly to its national interests. We welcome the creation of the Commission on Sustainable Development. The mandate of the Commission, its programme of work and the experience it has accumulated even during the short period of its existence indicate its budding importance. The Czech Republic, as a member of the Commission, is seriously involved in its work.

Central and Eastern parts of Europe border on a zone of instability. We have gained priceless experience in solving problems resulting from the disintegration of the totalitarian world, even as we perceive the world through the eyes of a stable European democracy. This dual vision can help us identify risks and seek their solutions. We feel we have something to contribute, and we are prepared to shoulder our share of responsibility for world affairs. This is one of the reasons why the Czech Republic submitted its candidacy as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. We believe we will be able effectively to use our experience and our perception of the world, and we hope that you will all support us.

Mr. WONG (Singapore): Since PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat shook hands with the Israeli Prime Minister on the White House lawn, nothing seems impossible any more. The end of the cold war has opened opportunities to set aside some of the most intractable, destructive and polarizing conflicts of our time.

Apartheid is coming to an end in South Africa. Eastern Europe is free. Russia and the other States of the former Soviet Union are shaking off the stifling effects of more than 70 years of communism. Germany has been peacefully reunited.

In Asia, Cambodia is moving towards national reconciliation after almost 20 years of war. Viet Nam and Laos are reintegrating themselves into the South-East Asian community.

China and Taiwan held direct informal talks in Singapore and Beijing this year. They will continue their own dialogue at their own pace. They should be encouraged to build confidence by working together, as they already have in the Asian Development Bank and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (APEC) and as they hope to do in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Change has its own dynamic. And not all changes are benign. The post-cold-war problems are legion and well known. It will be a challenge for the United Nations to respond. In recent years, there has been a marked expansion in the number and scope of the operations and activities authorized by the Security Council.

Established procedures, such as the Security Council-mandated Commission that has demarcated the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, have made and will continue to make positive contributions to stabilizing the post-cold-war world, providing authoritative reference points. United Nations specialized agencies, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), are playing an important role in holding renegade countries like North Korea to internationally accepted standards of conduct in the critical area of nuclear non-proliferation. The international community must continue to support such tried and tested measures and organizations.

But there is also an expectation that the end of the cold war will enable the Security Council to play more ambitious roles and at last assume "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" under Chapters V and VII of the Charter. In Cambodia, Haiti and Somalia, among other places, the United Nations is breaking new ground by actively interposing itself as a vital stabilizing actor in situations which would once have been considered essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States.

The legal, diplomatic and political implications of these developments are still unfolding and are not yet fully understood. Not everyone is entirely comfortable with

them. But I believe that most Member States regard the trend as generally positive and as making for a more secure world. The majority wants a more active and effective Security Council.

The Secretary-General's report on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council, submitted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 47/62, has thus occasioned great interest. There is wide consensus that if it is to be effective in the next century the Security Council cannot simply extrapolate its mandate from the starting-point of 1945 after the cold-war interregnum, but must accurately reflect the current configuration of global power. International order cannot be built on nostalgia. Too great a disjuncture from reality will doom the Security Council to eventual irrelevance. As membership of the United Nations expands, there is also a general expectation that the Security Council should become more representative of the Organization as a whole.

The composition of the Security Council is a compromise between the principle of the sovereign equality of States and the realities of power politics. That all States are equal but that some, for better or for worse, have a disproportionate influence on the international order is a fact of life. Great-Power leadership is vital. It is a reality. Recognition of the special status of great Powers is thus a requisite for effective action by the Security Council. When it comes to the crunch, only the great Powers can make a decisive difference. But the temper of our times also demands that if action is to command a general consensus: the great must seek the mandate of the many.

The issue is, however, more easily defined than resolved. The only previous increase in the size of the Security Council began in the 1956 session of the General Assembly with discussions on an increase of non-permanent seats. Agreement was reached only in 1963 and came into force two years later, almost a decade after the process had begun. The lapse of time shows the complexities involved.

The difficulties are still with us. To be sure, there are established principles laid down in Article 23 (1) of the Charter to guide the way to a possible further expansion of non-permanent seats. But there are no such guidelines for the more crucial question of an increase in permanent members. The Secretary-General's report must therefore be realistically considered as only the beginning of a long process of debate whose outcome cannot be confidently predicted at this point.

There are two basic problems. The first is simply to decide what is the current configuration of international power that should be reflected in the distribution of permanent seats. This is not as straightforward as it may seem. When the Charter was being drafted, the end of the Second World War, with easily discernible winners and losers, was in sight and was being prepared for. The intention was for the winners to have primary responsibility for guiding the new international order. Yet even then, two of the "Big Three" victors, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, were sceptical of Roosevelt's view of China's ability to play a major role in the post-war world. Churchill's insistence on including France among the elite group was met with similar scepticism by Roosevelt and Stalin.

It will be even more difficult to decide who belongs to the new elite. The end of the cold war took everyone by surprise and was far from clear-cut in its resolution. Economic, political and military power no longer necessarily cohere in one single locus. The United States is victor, but its economic recovery is slow and its competitiveness blunted. Russia is in serious economic and political difficulties but, because it has nuclear weapons, it remains a military great Power exercising a commanding influence on its former dominions, where the threat of chaos in the post-cold-war world is also greatest. Japan and Germany are clearly world economic powerhouses, but both lack an internal and regional consensus on the use of military forces beyond their borders.

The second problem is even more fundamental and vexing. The United Nations is an international Organization. It is not and was never intended to be a supranational organization. The United Nations was created by sovereign States and can do nothing without their assent, in which process the permanent members have a more than proportionate say through their veto. I state this without rancour as a fact well known to all. Any design for enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council therefore cannot just be based on abstract wisdom concerning the requisites of the international order. No plan that has any prospect of succeeding can avoid reckoning with calculations of the national advantage of the current permanent members.

But if the new Security Council is really to reflect the current international distribution of power, the process should logically entail the deposition of some from the elite as well as the anointment of other. Even if some were to be elevated without necessarily displacing others,

the expansion of the small group of the select would imply the relative diminution of the status of the current permanent members. It is not surprising, therefore, that only one permanent member has so far come out unambiguously in favour of an expansion in the number of permanent seats. It does not take a cynic to wonder whether it was emboldened to do so because the others have been so conspicuously coy on this critical point. No country has ever voluntarily relinquished privilege and power. We are after all in the company of sovereign States, not saints.

There is no circumventing the veto. There is no constitutional means of amending the Charter without the assent of all the permanent members, some of whom may believe they stand to lose by it. Yet change is imperative if we are not to squander the opportunity afforded by the end of the cold war - more so for small States that have few better choices than an effective United Nations for their security.

To make progress, there is no alternative but gradually to shape a consensus through a patient process of debate and discussion. To force the pace or attempt to impose a majority agreement will not work. At this preliminary stage, it would be most useful to try to identify and build consensus on objective general criteria that all permanent members, present or aspiring, must fulfil. This is a more clinical and constructive approach than engaging in a horse race or a beauty contest to pick specific countries. To attempt to do so at this stage is premature and would only be divisive. But the identification of objective criteria will set a common standard and, if we can agree on them, a consensus on specific countries will naturally emerge.

This will entail thinking through the role of the United Nations into the next century. What challenges will the United Nations face in the next decade? What will be the role and priorities of a new Security Council under these conditions? What capabilities will it need? These difficult questions demand the most exhaustive possible examination. The General Assembly should consider the formation of a working group, representative of the whole membership, to consider them and formulate agreed objective criteria for the expansion of the Security Council, especially its permanent membership.

To stimulate discussion, Singapore suggests the following:

First, there should be a level playing field with regard to all present and future members of a possible expanded Security Council. Anachronistic references to "enemy States" in Articles 53, 77 and 107 of the Charter should be removed. It is time to set aside the baggage of the past. Suggestions that there could be or should be a different set of permanent members without the veto are also impractical. No country that is capable of making a contribution as a new permanent member will accept such second-class status for long. It will only undermine the principle of great-Power cooperation, in the absence of which the Security Council cannot function. Nor is it practical or even desirable to do away with the veto. The fact that the veto has been abused does not detract from its intended function. It is a recognition of the hard reality that great Powers will not consent to put their power at the disposal of a sheer majority for the implementation of decisions which they do not agree with. It is a safety valve that prevents the United Nations from undertaking commitments that it lacks the power to fulfil. However, to minimize the misuse of the veto, if permanent membership is expanded at least two vetoes should be required to block a resolution.

Secondly, privilege must be paid for. An expanded role for the Security Council will require more resources. A United Nations perennially on the brink of financial insolvency cannot effectively meet the challenges of the next century. A permanent member should therefore carry a larger portion of the financial burden of the United Nations. Each permanent member should pay at least 9 per cent of the operating expenses of the United Nations as well as 11 per cent of the costs of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, which are the average percentages of the permanent five's current collective percentage of these budgets.

Thirdly, permanent members must have muscle and the will and the capability to wield it for the cause of the United Nations. The main mission and primary responsibility of the Security Council is to maintain international peace and stability. Force will be needed in pursuit of order and the Security Council cannot be effective without a sword that is sharp and ready. All permanent members should be prepared to give effect to Article 43 of the Charter and be ready to place their military forces at the disposal of the United Nations and shed blood to uphold international order if necessary.

This list is by no means exhaustive. Other members will have their own suggestions for appropriate criteria. I urge all members to participate in discussions on the expansion of the Security Council so that we may have the

benefit of the fullest possible range of views and emerge with the widest possible consensus.

Finally, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your unanimous election. I am confident that you will lead the Assembly at this session effectively. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the six new Members that have joined the Organization. I am certain that they will contribute positively to the work of the United Nations.

Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): I have the honour to convey to all members of the Assembly the warm greetings and good wishes of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, for the success of the forty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

I begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election. We are confident that with your wide knowledge and experience you will provide proper direction to our discussions. We would also like to pay a tribute to our outgoing President, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, for the exemplary manner in which he led the Assembly at the last session.

We extend a warm welcome to the peoples and Governments of Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Monaco and the Republic of Slovakia on their joining the family of nations. We are confident that their membership will add to the strength and vitality of the Organization.

We would like to pay a special tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his dynamic leadership. His initiatives have already started to steer the course of the United Nations into new and bold directions. His report to the Assembly is clear and concise and provides a good basis for the work of this session.

The momentous events taking place around us in this new decade continue to pose challenges and offer opportunities of an unprecedented scale. The handshake on the White House lawn between Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat opened a window for peace and tolerance in the Middle East after a century of hatred and suspicion. When President Clinton called the agreement the "peace of the brave", he paid just tribute to their courage. Deep-seated emotions will continue to blur reason and not all groups will take to the road of healing at the same pace. We join those calling on extremist factions on both sides to desist from the use of force. My delegation hopes that the agreement will lead to a comprehensive and durable peace on the basis of relevant Security Council resolutions. We appeal to the international community to give even stronger support to the implementation of the agreement in all its aspects.

With regard to the situation in the Persian Gulf, we urge all parties to abide by Security Council resolution 833 (1993). It is our view that for the full recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty, the boundary as demarcated by the United Nations must be internationally respected.

My delegation is happy with the progressive dismantling of apartheid and the process towards universal franchise in South Africa. We have recently heard in this forum Mr. Mandela's historic call to end all sanctions against South Africa, a call which must be speedily honoured.

We applaud the positive results of United Nations involvement in Cambodia, El Salvador and Haiti. These successes, however, have not yet been replicated in Somalia and Bosnia. My delegation strongly condemns violence against United Nations peace-keeping and humanitarian workers. As the need for peace-keeping in other parts of the world grows, it is clear that in future the terms of every intervention must be carefully defined.

My delegation welcomes the reduction in the international arsenal of nuclear and other weapons and we support the continuation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty beyond 1995.

With regard to the nuclear situation on the Korean peninsula, we urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to comply fully with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Safeguards Agreement in order to avoid any suspicion and speculation.

In an age focused on reducing the world's nuclear arsenal, further testing is unnecessary and inconsistent. We urge all nuclear States not to carry out further tests and to continue negotiations towards a comprehensive test ban.

While the world's nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction are being dismantled, we are aware that conventional weapons are used in all present-day conflicts. No country which supplies arms can dissociate itself from the moral responsibility for the use of such arms. We fully support the United Nations Register on Conventional Arms and urge the reduction of the international arms trade.

Over the past two years, considerable emphasis has been put on streamlining the United Nations Secretariat and making it more efficient. At the last two sessions the General Assembly has directed its attention not only towards reforming and revitalizing the United Nations but also towards making the General Assembly a more effective and responsive forum. While some progress has been made, the discussion on reforming and restructuring the United Nations continues. We cannot expect the United Nations, formed nearly five decades ago with just 50 members, to remain unchanged and yet be able to fulfil the hopes and expectations of the current 184 Members in a vastly different world. Clearly, the reforms and revitalization cannot be limited to managerial and organizational changes: the roles and responsibilities of all the principal organs of the United Nations must be taken into account.

My delegation believes that during our discussion on reforming the United Nations, the time is opportune to enlarge the Security Council. The expansion of its membership must be taken up together with the issue of accountability. While it is necessary to preserve the Security Council's new-found effectiveness, it must always be made accountable for its actions to the General Assembly.

The need for reform and restructuring seems in recent months to have been somewhat overshadowed by the Organization's financial difficulties and questions of effective operations and proper accountability. We fully agree that it is necessary to minimize waste and streamline operations. These issues, however, must be pursued independently of the concerns over the financial health of the United Nations. We urge all Members to pay their assessed contributions promptly. We are of the view that the current level of assessment has fully taken into account both the financial capacity of Member States to contribute and the role they have assumed in the Organization. There is a saying in my country that one must load the pony according to its ability to carry the burden. Although the United Nations has travelled far in the last three years, it is clear now that we cannot keep overloading it without putting the necessary means and resources at its disposal.

The Second World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna this year, clearly recognized that social progress and political stability cannot be ensured without respect for human rights. The Conference also recognized that human rights and social progress can be promoted and preserved only in a healthy economic and natural environment. For our part, we are fully committed to advancing the human rights of all our people.

This year, as agreed to in Agenda 21 of the Earth Summit, the Commission on Sustainable Development has been established. The work of this Commission will provide a new direction for the preservation of the environment and give added impetus to developmental activities. We recognize that while all development must take place at local and national levels, there are clearly regional and international dimensions for which solutions must be found at the global level. Bhutan looks forward to participating in the upcoming global conferences on population and development, the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women.

The recession that has afflicted much of the world economy in the past year has not shown any signs of improvement. In such conditions, it is hardly surprising that the economic performances of most of the world's least developed countries have continued to be dismal. Per capita income for the one tenth of the world's population which lives in these countries has fallen in the past three years despite the adoption of the United Nations Programme of Action in 1990. While the least developed countries have begun to initiate bold and painful structural reforms in their economies, budget constraints on donor nations and competing claims on aid resources have continued to slow down the flow of official development assistance to the least developed countries. While expressing our gratitude to donors who have met and even exceeded official development assistance targets, my delegation would like to appeal to the others to follow suit so that the reforms can be sustained and promoted.

The sluggish international economic climate in the last two years has been further compounded by a spate of unusually harsh natural disasters that have affected many parts of the world. We would like to express our heartfelt sympathies to all those in the United States of America, Japan, Nepal, and India who have suffered heavy loss of life and property because of recent natural calamities. The capacity to respond to such disasters should be placed high on the international agenda. This includes long-term investment in environmental conservation and other measures, including early warning facilities, to protect against natural disasters.

Bhutan continues to make considerable progress in the field of social and economic development. We are currently in the process of decentralizing the administration

in terms of decision-making and implementation of development projects. We are also giving priority to the development of human resources. In all our nation-building activities, we have sought to protect our rich natural environment and distinctive national identity. In our efforts, we have continued to receive generous support from India, Japan, Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Kuwait, Austria, Norway, Germany, the United Kingdom and Australia, and from various specialized agencies and bodies of the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Fund for Activites (UNFPA), the United Nations Capital Development Fund, (UNCDF), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations Volunteers (UNV), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). I take this opportunity to express the sincere gratitude of the people and Government of Bhutan to our development partners.

This is an age of multilateralism, and the United Nations is the centre around which this new age will revolve. The United Nations is no longer just the preserver of world order but an active promoter of peace and human advancement. Increasing cooperation among its Members since the end of the cold war has made it possible for the Organization to become more effective in pursuing these objectives. The long-term success of the United Nations, in our view, will depend on how democratic it becomes in its functioning and to what extent it will involve all its Members, large and small, in the decision-making process. We hope that the United Nations will become the centerpiece of a more just and equitable world order and will speak for the whole of humanity rather than just for a privileged few.

The PRESIDENT: Despite at least two reminders on my part so far of the Assembly's decision to prohibit the practice of expressing congratulations in the precincts of this Hall, this practice appears to flourish. It is not my intention to have this decision further undermined under my watch. I therefore warn all delegations that if the practice resumes, I shall be forced to interrupt the speaker - discourteously, of course - to allow for order to be restored. I appeal once again to the Assembly to respect the decision we have all taken together for the orderly performance of our work.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

19th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 6 October 1993
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 127 *(continued)*

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/48/414/Add.5)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the General Assembly's attention to document A/48/414/Add.5. In a letter contained in that document, the Secretary-General informs me that, since the issuance of his communications dated 21, 24, 27 and 29 September and 4 October 1993, the Gambia has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

ADDRESS BY MAJOR-GENERAL JUVENAL HABYARIMANA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Rwanda.

Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Rwanda, His Excellency Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President HABYARIMANA *(interpretation from French)*: I am experiencing a feeling of signal honour and genuine pleasure, and also at the same time a deep feeling as I now, on behalf of my country, Rwanda, speak before this prestigious General Assembly of the United Nations, which each year considers the fate of our world.

Above all, I should like to associate myself with the eminent speakers who have spoken before me here, to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of which I am the head, our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. We are assured that your personal qualities and your extensive experience in international issues will assist you in discharging this difficult responsibility. Your personal qualities and your experience are the best guarantee of the success of the work of the present session. We also wish to congratulate all the other members of the General Committee, who, we are sure, will spare no effort in assisting you in successfully discharging the difficult task entrusted to you. The delegation of the Republic of Rwanda will spare no effort to participate actively and effectively to ensure a successful conclusion of the debate on the items on the agenda of this session.

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

93-86776 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.19
25 October 1993

ENGLISH

Moreover, we wish to render a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, who was always inspired by the same concern for effectiveness in the cause of peace, justice and international security. He deserves our deep gratitude for having guided with wisdom and competence the work of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

We should also like to take advantage of this happy opportunity to warmly welcome the presence here with us of new Member States, the admission of which is an important stage towards achieving the universality of the Organization.

The forty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly is opening at a time when the world presents to us a rather gloomy picture. Here and there are several scattered islets of peace and prosperity but they are few indeed. Moreover, in various corners of the world armed conflicts and political tensions are ready to explode into open crisis and economic and social ruin. In many countries we find poverty and upheavals in the quest for more balanced societies, and everywhere there is anguish in the face of so many challenges which confront the conscience of man and which spawn fear for the future.

Fortunately, good will is being demonstrated and mobilized at the level of States, non-governmental organizations, and regional and international organizations - in the forefront of which is the United Nations - to arouse the universal conscience, extinguish the fires, accompany political change, allay misery and renew hope and the enjoyment of life for those for whom the horizon seems closed and gloomy.

It is an appropriate time and place to pay a sincere tribute to the world Organization and to its tireless Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for all the actions undertaken and carried out with skill and designed to restore peace in regions and countries devastated by war, to prevent other conflicts, and to assist disadvantaged peoples or those sorely tried by disasters of all types. To be sure, the means are limited, but is not this Organization the last hope of people?

And success nurtures that hope. Thus we welcome enthusiastically the end of the civil war in Cambodia and the re-establishment of State institutions in that country.

Rwanda welcomes the progress that has been made towards a settlement of the conflict in Mozambique and is following particularly closely the political developments in South Africa. While the system of apartheid in the latter has not yet been completely eliminated, recent developments promise positive and rapid progress.

Rwanda is also most gratified at the very positive course of the Middle East peace negotiations, which, thanks to mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and to the signing, in Washington on 13 September 1993, of an agreement on Palestinian autonomy in Gaza and Jericho, have just gone through a very important stage. We hope that this historic agreement, which lays the bases for reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians, will open the way to a lasting solution to all the issues connected with the problem of the Middle East and will lead ultimately to peace and calm in that part of the world.

To that end, we call on the international community to redouble its efforts to secure positive results for the attempts now being made to settle the conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Liberia, Angola, Somalia and all other countries where peoples are being battered, divided and plunged into misery by individual or tribal egoism and ambition or are having their sovereignty threatened by the inordinate greed of other States.

At the level of international economic relations, it is depressing to note that, to this day, three quarters of mankind live on the sidelines of economic and social progress, in so far as numerous structural imbalances continue to hamper the efforts of the countries of the South to achieve self-development and international cooperation. Indeed, despite the concerted efforts at integration, despite the internal adjustments still undertaken at enormous sacrifice, and despite the expressions of good will for international partnership, foreign debt continues to grow, and the gap between the economies of the North and those of the South continues to widen.

The delegation of Rwanda is convinced that if the lot of mankind is to be improved, the international community must undertake measures that can promote the emergence of a new, more balanced and more equitable world economic order. In this regard, only a common political will on the part of all the Members of this Organization can help to correct the structural imbalances in the global economy and to open the way to a new partnership in which interdependence means, first and foremost, a shared destiny for mankind, in which international cooperation is even more synonymous with success that benefits all the partners - the seal of fraternity and the promise of genuine solidarity.

Rwanda has always believed that international cooperation, if it is to be more effective, must be based to an even greater extent on intense, transparent, consistent and concise action agreed with our partners and undertaken within what must one day be regarded as a genuine contract of solidarity. Rwanda has always believed that well-planned cooperation implies the concept of co-management, of co-responsibility. This means shared responsibility, ongoing dialogue, transparency of commitments and acceptance of the right of all sides to make mistakes, so that, to a greater extent than in the past, cooperation can meet the stakes of the future. To secure even more genuine cooperation, the international community must seek effective solutions to all these challenges that are leading us into institutionalized, crushing debt.

In addition, the scope of international cooperation can be widened, and its impact increased, only through genuine integration of action and of programmes in the context of a national strategy and with a global vision of authentic self-development. Rwanda has always attached special importance to international cooperation, to which it owes so much of its progress, its development and its achievements.

With regard to the political situation in Rwanda, my country, as Members know, is emerging from a pointless and undeserved war, which was imposed on it three years ago, on 1 October 1990. Allow me, before sketching out the situation into which this war has plunged the population of Rwanda and the country's economy, to emphasize once again the role of the international community in resolving crises and conflicts, for the ending of the war in my country is the result of a miracle of international solidarity.

There is no doubt that this required the good will of the two parties to the conflict. Wisdom prevailed over ambition, and hatred yielded to the nation's need to survive. But the will of the two parties to pool their efforts was strongly supported by countries neighbouring Rwanda, among which the two parties chose, by common agreement, the Republic of Zaire as Mediator and the United Republic of Tanzania as Facilitator.

The two warring parties benefited also from the skilled help of President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, who was at that time Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, and of certain friendly countries - France, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America. In addition, they received most valuable assistance from the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. All these countries and international organizations sent representatives to Arusha, Tanzania, to take part in the peace negotiations that had begun in Zaire following the launching of hostilities, that had continued in Tanzania for a year, with their participation, and that culminated in a peace agreement.

I take this opportunity to express once again to all these countries and organizations the sincere gratitude of the Government and people of Rwanda for their highly valuable contribution to the positive outcome of the negotiations, which were very trying to all who were involved and which on numerous occasions would have been on the verge of collapse had it not been for the tenacity and determination of the two parties and the wise and firm advice of all friends present.

This senseless war that befell Rwanda is now subsiding, thanks to the peace agreement that was signed in Arusha on 4 August 1993. It was bloody and devastating. We mourn tens of thousands of victims. The war resulted in considerable destruction of infrastructure, equipment and socio-economic and administrative systems, and it left in a state of dire poverty more than 900,000 displaced persons, whose property went up in smoke.

That war has left us with orphans and invalids of all ages, widows, helpless old people and hundreds of thousands of economic victims. In the regions affected by the war, misery and desolation hold sway. Education has been severely jeopardized and the psychological consequences for the most vulnerable age groups are doubtless incalculable.

This war has destroyed the fragile equilibrium of the country's food supply and has exacerbated the famine which has struck the entire country, because it broke out in the country's most fertile regions, which have not been cultivated for three years now. The representatives of international bodies and non-governmental organizations who visited the camps of displaced persons cannot forget the desolate sight of the make-shift shelters where hundreds of thousands of human beings, crammed together in highly unsanitary conditions, continue to lead lives that are close to intolerable. Those representatives cannot forget the long lines of hungry people on the roads, seeking the assistance sent them by the international community, which with difficulty was able to deliver it to them for their survival.

And what can we say of the economy in general? Already badly shaken, it is today in even worse condition, following the enormous expenditures resulting from the war and the destruction it caused. Thus, after the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement, the time has come for the long

term, enormous work of national reconstruction in the newly regained peace and calm, without forgetting the other, no less important objective, the implementation of national reconciliation and the continued strengthening of the process of democratization in the management of the country. We can already welcome the establishment of a multi-party system by the constitutional review of 10 June 1991, thanks to which 17 political parties were agreed upon. Five of them are at present forming a transition Government which soon will be expanded to the Rwanda Patriotic Front for a new transitional period which should lead to pluralist, free and democratic elections.

On the economic level, Rwanda has been experiencing a crisis since the 1980s, which has had negative repercussions on the implementation of the budget and has been exacerbated not only by the war but also by the unpredictable nature of external shocks, in particular the collapse of the international price of coffee, our primary export.

As it was no longer possible to control the growth of public expenditures and of the fundamental imbalance in the balance of trade, in combination with a production system whose structure is very fragile, my country implemented, in November 1990, a programme of recovery having the following priorities: to relaunch the economy, to achieve internal and external financial balance, to promote domestic savings, to encourage the activity of the private sector and to improve the management of the public sector.

Rwanda's structural adjustment programme has been given great technical and financial support by all the donors, headed by the Bretton Woods institutions. Unfortunately, the launching of this programme, which the Government could apparently have carried out without too many sudden detours, coincided with the attack of October 1990.

From this rostrum, I would like most solemnly to thank the international community for the support it has accorded Rwanda both with assistance in the balance of payments and with development projects. We are even more grateful for the priority the international community has given to assistance for those displaced by the war, in answer to the consolidated appeal made by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations, whose dedication is inestimable.

Following the war and the new deterioration of the terms of trade which affected the economy of Rwanda, the very backbone of our structural adjustment programme is threatened. I am speaking here of the liberalization of external and internal trade which requires a comfortable currency reserve situation.

The Government of Rwanda has just decided upon the primary features of its short- and medium-term post-war economic policy from 1993 to 1996, items we have submitted to the international community. This policy reflects the Government's commitment to do all in its power to stabilize the large financial balances and to launch the process of economic recovery on the basis of the fundamental strategy of the structural adjustment programme, which gives a key role to market forces. In short, the positive results of the measures that have been in place since November 1990 must be capitalized upon, and new measures required by the deterioration of short- and medium-term economic prospects, linked to the war, must be planned.

Therefore, in accordance with the contents of the Peace Agreement, the priorities of the expanded transitional Government are to pursue efforts at economic recovery and to work on four programmes for specifically post-war economic development: emergency assistance to those displaced by the war in order to help them return to their property, assistance in the reintegration of Rwandese refugees, assistance in reconstruction and assistance in the social and economic reintegration of demobilized military personnel.

For the repatriation of Rwandese refugees in accordance with the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration of 19 February 1991, a donors' meeting will be organized at the initiative of the Government, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). With the war, we saw all types of destruction, particularly the damaging and/or destruction of several thousands of hectares of forest which will even further aggravate the wood shortage. With the end of the war, the country will have to dispose of the funds to demobilize more than 31,000 military personnel. We will also have to locate throughout the country paying jobs and training which can facilitate their social and economic reintegration.

Within the framework of the preparation for the programmes of reconstruction and socio-economic reintegration of demobilized military personnel, I have personally sent a request to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on 2 January 1993, and an inter-agency mission of the United Nations systems and of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is at present backing the Government of Rwanda in the preparation of the

document to be submitted to the donors at a round table for humanitarian emergency assistance.

Rwanda is trying to manage its meagre resources in an extremely difficult context. But it remains committed to the strategy of economic development contained in the structural adjustment programme it launched in November 1990, with, as its base, the process of economic liberalization that has already begun and is giving the private sector a larger role in decision-making.

By signing the Peace Agreement the Government of Rwanda firmly committed itself to strengthening the basis of a State of law in which public freedoms, together with political rights, justice and equality, will be guaranteed. In that Agreement the two parties have agreed that an independent National Commission for Human Rights will be established entrusted with dealing with violations of human rights perpetrated by any person on Rwandan territory and, in particular, by State bodies and by persons under cover of the State or other organizations. Simultaneously, the Government will move to improve the functioning of the legal and penal systems, in particular by forbidding arbitrary and illegal arrests and inhumane treatment of detainees and by severely punishing the perpetrators of such acts.

Since the country's human, material and financial means are severely limited, an appeal will be made to foreign financial and technological assistance, especially in the area of the training of magistrates and officials of the Office of the Public Prosecutor and Ministry of Justice personnel.

In the Peace Agreement the Government of Rwanda has also reaffirmed its determination to reach a final settlement of the refugee problem, a goal to which it had committed itself in the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration of 19 February 1991 at the regional summit meeting which examined the problem of Rwandan refugees.

The task will be a difficult one for the broad-based transitional government envisaged in the agreement within the framework of the Protocols of Agreement on Power-sharing between the country's political parties and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). That Government will be set up in the next few days, as soon as the prerequisite conditions have been met. The task will also be a difficult one for the people of Rwanda as a whole, who will be the ultimate authors and beneficiaries of the hoped-for progress and well-being.

Nevertheless, despite the will and determination of the Rwandan people and their Government, we must acknowledge the utter insufficiency of the domestic means available, given the titanic labour to be accomplished. We thus look to the international community to support and supplement our own efforts.

The first contribution we expect from the international community is the deployment, as rapidly as possible, of an international neutral force, as provided in the Arusha Agreement. On behalf of the people of Rwanda, I should like to express to the United Nations as a whole, and to the members of the Security Council in particular, our gratitude for the historic decision the Organization took yesterday in adopting the resolution establishing the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), so long awaited for the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The Agreement assigns to that force the task of facilitating the implementation of the Peace Agreement, specifically by supervising implementation of the Protocol on the Integration of the Armed Forces of the Two Parties and by providing various kinds of assistance to the authorities and competent bodies. The Agreement also assigns to UNAMIR security tasks, including, *inter alia*, monitoring the overall security situation in the country and investigating and reporting on activities carried out by the competent authorities and bodies in the maintenance of public order; assisting in ensuring the security of the civilian population; assisting with mine-clearance operations; assisting in the identification of arms stockpiles and the neutralization of armed bands throughout the country, and monitoring the respect by both sides of the comprehensive cease-fire and cessation of hostilities, as provided in the Peace Agreement.

Lastly, the Arusha Peace Agreement entrusts the neutral international force with the tasks of supervising the training process of the national armed forces, and here I would mention only the supervision of the disengagement of forces, supervision of the demobilization of all the military forces and the Gendarmerie, and participation in the training programme for members of the New National Army and National Gendarmerie.

This is some indication of how necessary and urgent the establishment of the neutral international force is in order to allow for the creation of the broad-based transitional government and the reintegration of persons displaced by the war, the repatriation of refugees and, in a

general manner, national reconstruction in conditions of maximum security.

Another extremely vital contribution we expect from the international community, and more specifically from the United Nations system and, on a bilateral level, from the friendly countries and various non-governmental organizations, will be that of financing the priority programmes to which I referred a few moments ago.

Today, more than ever, Rwanda needs the attention, concern and good will of the international community. It is relying on that community's generosity to re-establish itself and to recover from the horrors of war. May that hope be realized soon.

With the support of the international community the people of Rwanda hope to pass smoothly through a transition period that, notwithstanding the guidelines of the Peace Agreement, could still turn out to be arduous. The people of Rwanda, however, are relying on the patriotism and sense of responsibility that their political authorities and the leaders of the parties in the government and the Transitional Assembly must demonstrate to consolidate the democratic gains and lay down, once and for all, the foundations of peace and national harmony. Once the demons of division have been exorcised, the people of Rwanda will surely build a new nation and experience once again uninterrupted progress.

At this session of the General Assembly elections will be held for a number of seats on the Security Council. Rwanda has officially put forward its candidacy to become a non-permanent member of that body entrusted with responsibility for international peace and security. Its candidacy was endorsed at the last Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held at Cairo at the end of June this year. As the Head of State, I ask for the Assembly's trust in my country, Rwanda, which has never yet had a seat on the Security Council. As a State concerned to carry out its responsibilities, including those on the international level, Rwanda believes that it can, today more than yesterday, make its modest contribution to the maintenance of peace in the world and to the restoration of peace in troubled regions and countries.

Emerging as it now is from a war that has tried it sorely, Rwanda is better aware of the price of peace, the peace it has now regained thanks in particular to the efforts of the international community.

Those are the reasons that have motivated Rwanda to put forward its candidacy for a non-permanent seat on the Security Council: to assist other warring nations to return to peace, but also to work, together with the other members of the Council, for the strengthening of peace within its own borders. Rwanda hopes that it will have your confidence.

An ancient country that was under United Nations trusteeship throughout the period prior to its accession to national independence, my country, Rwanda, which has just emerged from the throes of an unmentionable war and now yearns to rebuild, relying on the lessons of the past, has every reason to feel that it has matured, and it assures you of its unswerving determination to work for the advent of peace in the world and understanding among nations. On its behalf, I repeat to the United Nations, our Organization, our sincerest wishes that it may succeed and flourish for the happiness of all mankind.

The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French):* On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Rwanda for the statement he has just made.

Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

Prince MOHAMED BOLKIAH (Brunei Darussalam): Before making my statement I should like to take this opportunity to express my country's deepest sympathy with the Government and people of India as they mourn the thousands of lives lost during last week's earthquake.

I wish to congratulate you on your election, Mr. President; to thank the outgoing President for his contribution to the work of the United Nations; and to welcome all the new Members of our Organization.

Much has been expected of the United Nations in the past year. Its priority has been to ensure that the profound political and economic change does not result in global conflict. This has sometimes meant coordinating international efforts. On other occasions the United Nations has had to take the lead in these operations. At the same time, it has continued to take up the challenges presented by the many far-reaching social, humanitarian and

environmental problems of our day. These have proved more and more difficult to contain within national or even regional boundaries.

The United Nations responsibilities have often been undertaken under most unfavourable conditions. I am therefore pleased that our Secretary-General and the countries representing the United Nations have always responded positively to the situations they have faced. I hope that they will continue to do this, even after such distressing events as those which have occurred in Somalia this week.

I say this because the past year has seen so many valuable achievements. The success of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia has shown what can be done through responsible regional efforts and patient multilateral action. In South Africa, national, regional and international efforts in support of United Nations resolutions have brought new hope. In the Middle East, the United Nations has been a positive influence in reducing tension after the Gulf War.

We also welcome the agreement between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel. This is the first step towards a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question.

There have also been several initiatives aimed at improving the world economy and developing better trading arrangements in regions. At the same time, the United Nations has continued to give essential assistance to people in developing countries. It has also maintained its peace-keeping operations in a number of problem areas. The United Nations has also organized important international conferences where nations have been able to exchange views on many matters of international concern. This represents a considerable contribution to preventive diplomacy and peace-building. In each case, I hope these achievements will be consolidated by national and regional authorities.

In Cambodia, we wish the new Government every success as they go about the task of bringing lasting stability to their nation. Like all the countries in our region, we look forward to seeing the Cambodian people enjoying peace and prosperity again.

In South Africa, I believe conditions now exist for national leaders to encourage restraint and seek consensus.

The countries in the Gulf region are also in a position to work towards peaceful solutions to the remaining areas of difficulty.

In the Middle East, current developments should start a process that will restore all legitimate Palestinian rights and should lead to a comprehensive settlement in the region.

In terms of the world economy, objectives have been set. What we hope to see now is equally clear progress in strengthening linkages between the North and the South and in creating conditions that promote cooperation and sustainable growth. To do this, we need to improve the existing mechanisms for preventing economic disagreements from turning into open conflict. Each nation has a responsibility to promote fair trading arrangements throughout the world.

Today's overall situation presents many challenges. I feel that we can continue to turn them into positive developments if we note carefully the circumstances under which the United Nations appears to achieve its greatest successes. These occur when the special responsibilities of national Governments, non-governmental organizations and regional associations are recognized and agreed upon before the world body is asked to act.

Where those responsibilities have been in confrontation with each other, the effectiveness of United Nations operations has been hindered. This is clearly illustrated in Somalia and in Bosnia. In those countries, the United Nations initially acted in order to guarantee safe and effective humanitarian assistance. There have been considerable successes in these operations, and I thank those who have achieved them for their humanitarian work.

However, these efforts and the fact that conflict has not been allowed to spread outside the regions concerned should not divert our attention from the deep matters of principle involved.

That is why we wish to express our strong support for the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that the United Nations Charter would be severely compromised if the Organization became a party to any arrangement which forces a sovereign nation and fellow Member of the United Nations to submit to aggression. Not only would this condone terrorism - it would reward it.

In seeking to ensure that the United Nations does not become merely another factor in a local political equation, there are a number of proposals for reform. These are intended to give confidence to Members that United Nations decisions reflect the widest possible spectrum of world opinion. If they also assist in solving the world body's deep

financial problems, I see merit in considering them favourably.

We all have our different views on how the United Nations should best operate. Whatever they are, I hope we will make every effort to encourage our regional and subregional associations to play a crucial supporting role. Ideally, each region will be working on its own agenda for peace and development which will complement the work of the world body. The more this is done, the more the United Nations will be able to act in the way in which it is most effective - as the authority of last resort. In this way, I believe we can make considerable progress towards establishing what the Secretary-General has described as a workable international system.

Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) *(interpretation from French):* The General Assembly's annual convening in New York is a world event which, each year, expresses the hope of nations and peoples to find common ground, through dialogue and joint effort, in order to live together their shared destiny. In a world that is becoming daily more diverse and in which peoples are witness to so many contradictions, is it not here and now, in close friendship and fraternal dialogue, that humanity, with its boundless intellectual and ethical potential, can embark on a process of self-examination and be reconciled with the universal conscience, which is also the foundation of our human calling to live together and in harmony?

It is in that belief that the delegation of Senegal - which participated in your election, Mr. President, aware of your brilliant political record and the outstanding role your country plays on the international scene - extends to you through me the warm congratulations of my country, our people and its leaders. We have no doubt about your mastery of international practice, for we know that your vast experience as a statesman will make it possible for you to conduct, with effectiveness, intelligence and skill the work of this session of the General Assembly. My best wishes are thus with you in your election and with the task you have been called upon to accomplish, until September 1994, from this historic and lofty rostrum.

Your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, guided the proceedings of the forty-seventh session of our General Assembly with a competence and effectiveness that deserve our appreciation and gratitude. We wish heartily to congratulate him.

I should like to pay a special tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the enormous energy that he has expended with such foresight and courage to ensure the implementation of the principles and the realization of the objectives of the Charter of our Organization. The personal friendship that I have shared with that eminent citizen of the world for almost 25 years allows me to reiterate the esteem and admiration that I have always felt towards him.

Finally, I should like to extend my country's congratulations to all the new States Members of our Organization - the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Principality of Monaco, the Principality of Andorra and Eritrea. I welcome all of them to the United Nations family.

Some 15 years ago, in September 1978, I had the honour for the first time, in my capacity as the new Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, to address this Assembly. As the young head of the diplomatic corps of an African country, I referred to the many problems then confronting the international community and which revolved around two basic focal points.

The first of these was the accession to political sovereignty of peoples that had not yet experienced freedom, that had been denied the full exercise of inalienable rights inherent to every human being on Earth. Those rights had been denied them by other men, other peoples, other States and other nations in the name of a system that was imposed on them and to which they had been subjected. Hope in their fellow man was their only defence.

The other focal point of attention was the grave inequality of conditions for the economic, social, human and cultural development of nations. Some of these nations had near-total control of scientific developments, industrial technology, transport and communications, the cultural media and world trade networks. They even controlled the raw materials that were produced, to a great extent, in the underdeveloped regions.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

At the same time, while the prices of these raw materials were falling year after year at a dizzying pace, other nations were forced to buy at a high price and with reduced resources the consumer goods produced in the industrialized countries. Those nations were devoting all of their export income to these transactions and were therefore unable to invest in order to ensure their own development.

Thus doomed to indebtedness, they lost a significant part of their own sovereignty just as they were taking their first tentative steps onto the international scene.

And here we are today, 15 years later, gathered together to evaluate, in an outpouring of solidarity, the distance we have covered.

The fact is that the world has changed - yes, it has changed - and the transformations that characterize this end of the twentieth century are so profound that the international community at large feels the need to reform radically the way the United Nations functions, as regards, particularly, the composition of the Security Council, the financial management of the United Nations and cooperation for development, to mention just a few of the most acute needs of the present day.

The world has changed. As for the African continent - to take this as a point of reference - most of the peoples formerly under foreign domination have acceded to independence. States have been created; the structures of an economy have been established; and political and economic leaders have been trained and set to work to help these peoples fulfil their destinies.

But inequalities remain, even though an unprecedented global crisis today affects the economies of all countries, including even those of the most highly industrialized nations. The world economy seems to have become dislocated. It has lost its balance. New rules are established and developed day by day in the quest for new balances and new solutions. And all this is done in a situation that increasingly jeopardizes international peace. This situation could, if we are not careful, lead to impatience, to intolerance, to irritation, to a lack of dialogue - in short, to inevitable confrontation. Such a threat is unacceptable, and we must not accept it.

That is why, together with my colleagues the other heads of delegations, I would like on behalf of my country - an African country, a Sahelian country, a developing country - to join other delegations in repeating to the nations gathered here that, in spite of all these problems, we do not have the right to despair.

For it is obvious today that the salvation of humankind resides in solidarity and in friendship and cooperation between human beings. The fundamental and logical underpinnings of relations between peoples are, more than ever before, dialogue and agreement, expressed through firm language that translates our thoughts about the human being and about life.

It is fortunate that a country such as France - which I am pleased to mention, together with other industrialized countries that are supporting Africa - reaffirmed just a few days ago in Paris, through Mr. Alain Juppé, Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the West in general and the European countries in particular must be aware that if the majority of the populations of the world remain hungry, poor, bearing the weight of the distortions in the international economy, and if, in addition, they see their efforts to achieve political and social democracy destroyed by difficulties of all types, then there will always be a risk that international peace will be destabilized.

The industrialized countries must move in the right direction. They must understand that international solidarity can be expressed only through the mutual support that nations must give each other. In this respect, our continent, Africa, and many Asian countries should receive this support in a context of mutual respect. In other words, the proposal for an "agenda for development" initiated by the Brazilian delegation, with the support of the Group of 77, to accompany the "Agenda for Peace" submitted by our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, deserves the international community's attention. This important measure reflects the concerns of the Head of State of Senegal, President Abdou Diouf, who, when he addressed this Assembly last year, on this very date, launched the idea of a general agreement on solidarity as the foundation for fruitful international economic cooperation, the driving force of North-South solidarity in a renewed form.

Ancient African wisdom - the ancient wisdom of our continent -teaches us that human beings, who alone can change and improve their own environment, are endowed with prodigious intellectual and moral resources, resources based on intelligence, imagination and the ability to rise to a situation in a way that makes it possible for them to fulfil their destiny. We must remain united and mutually supportive.

In this connection, the delegation of Senegal solemnly commends the international community for the efforts that made possible the signing in Washington on 13 September 1993 of the agreement between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. This historic event put an end to many decades of hostility and rancour, which cost thousands of lives and left many wounded and many alone, orphaned or widowed - all because of a lack of understanding which itself led to the

destruction of the conditions for development in the Middle Eastern countries as a whole. And, what is more, there was the flare-up in oil prices which began in October 1973 and which led to the inflationary curves that have since then characterized the global economy everywhere in the world.

It is now up to the international community to work to consolidate this important step in the direction of a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. In this endeavour, the United Nations family can rely, as in the past, on the constant and active support of my country to ensure that in that holy land Israelis and Palestinians can bring humankind into harmony with its profound values of tolerance, wisdom and concord.

That is also the way we view the efforts made to resolve conflicts that in the past seemed beyond any human solution. I have in mind, *inter alia*, Cambodia, where the settlement plan designed by the United Nations led to the holding in May 1993 of general, orderly and democratic elections, as a result of which a legitimate Government was established; El Salvador, where, after several years of civil war, negotiations conducted under the auspices of the United Nations led to the signing, at the beginning of last year, of the Mexico Agreement, which initiated a period of transition towards general elections planned for the beginning of 1994; Liberia, where repeated initiatives pursued by the members of the Economic Community of West African States, supported by the United Nations and by the Organization of African Unity, made it possible to conclude, in July 1993, a new peace agreement which should, as we fervently hope, lead to a definitive settlement of that fratricidal conflict; and Mozambique and Rwanda, where similar agreements have been concluded and where the United Nations has been meaningfully involved in their practical and complete implementation.

I also have in mind South Africa, where considerable progress has been made toward eliminating a system which the entire world rejected and condemned, and where peoples, united in fruitful diversity, must work together for the emergence of a human community characterized by justice and equality. My country, Senegal, will respond to the appeal made in this Hall a few days ago by President Nelson Mandela, when, from this very rostrum, he invited the international community to take a new approach consistent with the evolution of the situation in his country.

All of these are excellent examples of the fact that these new times bear new hopes, even though we still have grounds for legitimate concern. In fact, despite the victories that freedom has won, when peoples are liberated peace is not always the result. The legacy of the collapsing old order is in fact often an unwieldy one, difficult to manage. On the ruins of oppression which lasted for far too long we must build a new world, a world of freedom and peace, of justice and progress.

During this uncertain period of transition, border conflicts, problems between neighbours and religious tensions bring a return to the conflicts - civil war, genocide, rivalry among members of the same national community - of an era we thought past. Yugoslavia, Somalia, Angola: there are many examples that show that universal peace, that primary objective of the United Nations, is yet but an aspiration.

The challenge, therefore, is to do all in our power so that in all parts of the world the freedoms regained will open the way to peace. My country, Senegal, which has always and in every way been committed to strengthening peace and promoting security, feels that working towards this objective means, first and foremost, affirming forcefully the rule of law in international relations. Lasting peace and security, in fact, can be guaranteed only if all nations of the world comply with the rule of law in their relations with other nations. That law must be the same for all if justice is to prevail.

In this context, and in connection with the tragedy of the fraternal people of Kuwait, I welcome the happy conclusions that have been reached by the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission. The international community must continue to protect all States from any external threat to their independence and sovereignty.

My thoughts turn also to Bosnia and Herzegovina, a martyred State and a State Member of the United Nations. I believe the international community has endeavoured in every stage of the evolution of the situation in the former Yugoslavia to guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the international community has committed itself to enforcing, above all, the rights of the Bosnian people, a people today undeniably the victim of true genocide. This commitment must be respected because the very credibility of our Organization is at stake.

In any event, it is in order to uphold respect for that commitment that my country, whose Head of State is Chairman of the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference, intends to continue the efforts he has already begun to contribute to the promotion of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in close

cooperation with all countries that cherish the same ideals of peace and justice.

I also have in mind the painful situation prevailing in Angola. The Bicesse Accords, although freely entered into by the parties to the conflict, seem today to have collapsed. By calling into question the validity of the elections organized a year ago under those same Bicesse Accords, UNITA has once again plunged Angola into an atmosphere fraught with danger and uncertainty. The magnitude of the destruction and suffering caused by this situation warrants urgent efforts to arrive at a definitive cease-fire and a resumption of negotiations. The framework already exists: the Bicesse Accords, endorsed by the United Nations. The principles on which any solution to the conflict must be based are also very clear: the safeguarding of Angola's territorial integrity and national unity and also, above all, respect for the will of the Angolan people, freely expressed in the elections a year ago.

On these bases, my country would here like to send out a solemn appeal to all our Angolan brothers and sisters, above all those of UNITA, to understand that it is not in the interests of the Angolan people to continue the fighting. The interests of the Angolan people reside exclusively in the national effort that all must make to restore peace and harmony to Angola. We Senegalese, for our part, support all efforts to help them in this regard.

There is also the situation in Somalia, where a great deal remains to be done to restore peace and organize a viable State. The United Nations there is on the right path, conducting the most ambitious and largest operation ever organized in Africa. My country would like to express its pleasure once again over the organization of this operation in a country that is today experiencing a tragic and complex situation. The infrastructure has been devastated, the State has collapsed and fratricidal internal strife has engendered massive displacements of the population.

In the face of this tragic situation and in support of the Addis Ababa Agreement, which was the result on last 28 March of the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia, the international community, through the United Nations, gave the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) a mandate to continue the disarmament and to work towards national reconciliation, and at the same time, and most important, towards the strengthening of political institutions.

We are pleased to note that today, in spite of the sporadic turmoil of recent months, UNOSOM II has begun to help the Somali people restore the sovereignty and integrity of the State. It is in Somalia's and the whole international community's interests for this mission to continue and that it achieve the desired results.

I wish at this point to conclude my statement on a hopeful note.

There is a clear awareness today that our planetary community is inextricably interrelated, that it rests on a natural unity based on scientific and medical discoveries and the speed of communications. But despite, and perhaps because of, this very progress there remains a certain fragility in the balance of our world.

Our calling as human beings endowed with reason is therefore to remain united and to ensure together, hand in hand, the survival of humankind. It is our duty to see to it that our populations live long and in good health, to see to it that future generations derive the greatest benefit from the experiences we have had and that we are having now, so that, tomorrow, our legacy to them will be a world that has not been destroyed, a generous nature, a land united on the solid foundations of friendship, brotherhood, love and peace.

Mr. PHAN VAN Khai (Viet Nam) *(spoke in Vietnamese; English text furnished by the delegation):* On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, I should like to extend to Ambassador Insanally warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of this forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

We regard highly the vast efforts made and positive achievements attained by His Excellency the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his position of lofty responsibility, towards the cause of peace, international security, development and cooperation among nations. In April of this year it was with warmth and high esteem, and moved by a desire to enhance Viet Nam's cooperation with the United Nations, that our Government and people welcomed the Secretary-General in our country.

We wish to congratulate the new Members of our United Nations family.

In the year since the previous session of our General Assembly, the world has offered us a chiaroscuro picture of opportunities intermingled with challenges, of hopes mixed with anxieties. The threat of a global war of annihilation continues to recede, and we are witnessing an increasing trend towards dialogue and cooperation, in new forms and

through new mechanisms, in different regions and on a world-wide scale. The progress towards restoration of peace in a number of places, especially in Cambodia and the Middle East, brings glad tidings to the whole world and demonstrates that in our day and age it is still possible, through peaceful negotiations, to settle conflicts that were once fierce and protracted.

However, humanity's conscience and reason remain profoundly disturbed by the bloody conflicts which are inflicting death and pain on peoples and provoking regional and international instability, by potentially explosive tendencies to increase armaments in certain parts of the world, by the widening gap between the developed and the developing world and by other important and pressing problems of a global nature, such as demographic explosion, environmental degradation, dangerous diseases, transnational crime, and so on.

In an unstable world whose evolution is fraught with complexities, the United Nations, while taking account of the direct responsibility of nations concerned, is facing major challenges in the discharge of its primary responsibility, namely the restoration and preservation of peace and stability. Never before has the United Nations been present and active in so many hot spots across the continents as it is today. In this regard the Secretary-General has given us a comprehensive approach to the problem in his report "An Agenda for Peace". *(A/47/277)*

It is the earnest desire of the people of Viet Nam that peace, closely linked with national independence and sovereignty, be primary components of the new world order. We endorse the view expressed in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/48/1) that

> "States and their sovereignty are increasingly recognized as indispensable building-blocks of international order and problem-solving". *(A/48/1, para. 13)*

Respect for the national independence, sovereignty and identity of each country, the strengthening of international cooperation, and the settlement of disputes through peaceful negotiations and mutual accommodation, considering peace, stability and cooperation to be the fundamental, long-term interest of each State and of the international community: all these are guiding principles in inter-State relations, principles that the United Nations and its Member States must respect. The Security Council is vested with the primary responsibility for the activities of the United Nations in respect of the restoration and safeguarding of peace. This mission, however, devolves not solely on the Security Council but on all nations. Member States should therefore have a say in determining the objectives and guiding principles for decisions and actions undertaken by the Security Council with regard to international peace and security. Only by so doing can the United Nations truly be a universal Organization and a common instrument for the community of nation-States. The principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, of non-coercion and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, of attainment of the consent of the parties concerned, and perseverance in the settlement of disputes through peaceful negotiations: such are the principles that should govern the Security Council's decisions.

Today the world is witnessing miraculous advances in science and technology. In that world, however, some hundred countries and with them billions of human beings are in danger of falling behind in the general advancement of mankind, while the wealth and property of the world are concentrated in the hands of a few developed countries. The gap in development levels is steadily widening. This, together with the accumulated external debt burden, has put developing countries at a constant disadvantage in North-South economic and trade relations. This reality carries potential challenges to security and stability, both regional and international. We should therefore fully comprehend, now more than ever, the interrelation between peace, security and development.

We support the proposal for the United Nations to work out a comprehensive and effective "agenda for development", considering the implementation of such an agenda through enhanced resources as a fundamental factor for the establishment of a new, sound and equitable world order. Development programmes of the United Nations and assistance from highly developed countries to developing countries, especially poor countries, are undertakings which do not benefit one side only; rather, they are necessary for the overall stability and development of the world and the various regions as well as of each State. We are of the view that attaching political conditions to development assistance and cooperation runs counter to the principle of equality and mutual benefit of wholesome international relations.

On the other hand, poor countries hope that the rapidly increasing cost of peace-keeping operations will not affect the ability of the United Nations in the field of development cooperation, and they wish to see balanced attention on the

part of the United Nations to both the Agenda for Peace and that for development.

One important direction of the United Nations activities that reflect the broadening attention given in this regard by the international community is the promotion of democracy and human rights. The World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna last June clearly pointed out the close relationship between democracy and human rights. In our view, one should accord equal importance to, and promote concurrently, democracy within each country and democracy in inter-State relations. Respect for human rights must go together with respect for equality among States as well as between the United Nations and Member States. The United Nations itself needs to reform its organization and mode of operation so as to ensure democracy, justice and equality for all Member States.

An enlargement in the membership of the Security Council to enhance its representativeness, the promotion of greater transparency in the work of this body of authority within the United Nations system, the strengthening of the effectiveness of the General Assembly, the improvement of the relationship among the United Nations organs, together with perfecting the mechanisms and streamlining the machinery to ensure better efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations activities - all these are urgent demands facing us as we are approaching the fiftieth anniversary of this Organization. Together with many other countries - member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in particular - Viet Nam considers human rights to be primarily the concern and interest of each country, the pursuit of democracy and human rights in one country to be, first and essentially, the responsibility of that country and nation. At the same time, States may cooperate with one another in the promotion of democracy and human rights on the basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty, the right to self-determination, the right of a nation to choose its own path of development, in accordance with the purposes and principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two basic International Covenants on Human Rights. We consider using imposed standards of human rights and democracy as preconditions for inter-State cooperation to be a manifestation of inequality and lack of democracy in international relations.

The Vienna Conference identified areas of agreement and at the same time revealed outstanding differences of views on human rights. We hope that, proceeding from the commitment to the common cause of human rights protection and promotion, from the recognition of both the universality and the specificity of human rights, countries will engage in a dialogue in a spirit of mutual respect with a view to achieving a unity of purpose in a diversity of ways and means of implementation in the field of human rights. The Vienna Conference also put forth recommendations aimed at consolidating and strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in regard to human rights. To achieve this end, it is our view that we should make full use of the relevant existing machinery and mechanisms of the United Nations and enhance their efficiency and effectiveness. Taking account of the need to streamline its machinery, the Organization must carefully scrutinize and weigh any initiative for the establishment of new mechanisms.

Viet Nam is a country that has lived through protracted, devastating wars in which the use of millions of tons of bombs, ammunition and toxic chemicals has caused destruction of the environment, misery, loss of life and serious consequences for several generations now. It has been undertaking a process of renewal, overcoming many difficulties and challenges to achieve stability, development and integration into the international community.

Located in the most dynamic region for development in the world, Viet Nam has both assets and difficulties, opportunities and challenges stemming from its specific historical circumstances, natural conditions and its geopolitical and geoeconomic position. We are now facing the acute challenge of how to overcome, soon, our state of poverty and underdevelopment, and join the mainstream of progress in the region. The only way is to tap all domestic resources, which, first and foremost, means bringing into full play the dynamism and creativity of every Vietnamese, and at the same time expanding international cooperation in friendship with all countries based on the principle of mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, and on equality and mutual benefit.

This imperative need impels us to initiate and step up efforts towards renewal in every sphere of social life; at its core, this is focused on a market economy and on perfecting the rule of law in a State that is truly of the people, by the people and for the people.

The process of renewal focuses on the economic field with a view to developing a multisectoral economy operating under the market mechanism, to establishing an economic system that is open both domestically and externally, and to improving the functions and management patterns of the State. Under embargo conditions, and at a point where sources of major assistance from the countries of the

Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) are no longer available, the renewal process has helped Viet Nam's economy overcome the most difficult hurdle and end the recession, reduce and maintain control over inflation, achieve average growth in gross domestic product of 7.2 per cent during the past three years, 1991 to 1993, accumulate initially modest levels of domestic savings, and gradually improve the life of the people.

Viet Nam has been attracting increasing foreign direct investment and development assistance. On behalf of the Government and the people of Viet Nam, I should like to express our sincere thanks to various agencies of the United Nations system, such as the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Population Fund, the World Food Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and others, as well as many Governments and non-governmental organizations in the world, for maintaining, resuming and increasing development and humanitarian assistance to Viet Nam.

We highly appreciate the timely support extended by the Governments of France, Japan, Sweden and other countries, together with the international financial institutions, for helping Viet Nam settle arrears with the International Monetary Fund, thereby creating a breakthrough initiation of credit assistance from international monetary and financial institutions; such assistance is absolutely essential for building up socio-economic infrastructures in Viet Nam.

Our appreciation goes also to the many companies, from nearly 50 countries, that have come to Viet Nam for investment and business cooperation at this initial stage of our development.

In our journey towards a dynamic and sound market economy that is well-managed at the macroeconomic level, and achieving healthy, rapid and sustainable growth aimed at achieving the objectives of a prosperous nation, a strong country and a civilized and equitable society, we still face numerous difficulties, weaknesses and challenges. At this juncture, increased assistance from the United Nations, international financial institutions and non-governmental organizations, as well as cooperation and support from various countries, is extremely valuable and meaningful.

On the basis of the fundamental approach of having a socio-economic development strategy up to the year 2000 in which the human person constitutes both the end and the driving force, Viet Nam is simultaneously carrying out economic reforms and a step-by-step renovation of the political system in order to promote the rights of people and citizens' rights, both economic and political, cultural and social. Strenuous efforts have been made to establish the State's rule of law through the promulgation of the amended Constitution of 1992, the election of the new National Assembly Legislature, an enhancement of the power and responsibilities of the elected organs and a stepping up of the law-making process.

In accordance with our nation's tradition of humaneness, we stand for abolishing prejudice and vengeance, and for looking towards the future. Those previously in the ranks of our adversaries have all been freed and given full citizens' rights. All Vietnamese who wish for a prosperous and strong Viet Nam, and who respect the laws, will find a place in the great unity of the nation, even if they are of different political opinions.

The process of renovation and the policy of universal national unity constitute the prime mover for development in the country and at the same time bring into full play the potential of Vietnamese overseas to contribute to the construction of their former homeland.

Viet Nam has concurrently deployed a foreign policy of openness, diversifying and multilateralizing its relations of friendly cooperation with all other countries, thus creating a favourable international environment for our country's renovation and development.

In that spirit, Viet Nam has actively contributed to the peaceful solution of the Cambodian question and has implemented the Paris Agreements and cooperated with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. We have established relations of good-neighbourliness with Cambodia in the hope that Cambodia will become a country of peace, independence, neutrality and non-alignment that entertains friendly relations with other countries.

We wish to congratulate the new Government in Cambodia, and stand ready, together with that Government, to settle, jointly, any questions of mutual concern. We express the wish that the Cambodian Government and the United Nations will take effective measures to protect Vietnamese residents living peacefully in Cambodia, and to

ensure their safety and the same rights and benefits as are enjoyed by people from other countries who are resident in Cambodia.

Viet Nam is sparing no effort in building up friendship and cooperation with neighbouring countries and is persevering in its policy of peaceful negotiations to find satisfactory solutions to border and territorial disputes at sea as well as on land. While working for solutions, all concerned parties should refrain from doing anything that further complicates the situation and from the use or threat of use of force to settle disputes.

The fact that relations between the United States and Viet Nam have not yet been normalized 20 years after the end of the war is not normal nor is it in consonance with the trend of our time. With the desire to close the book on the past and to look to the future, Viet Nam wishes and stands ready to normalize relations with the United States on the basis of equality and mutual respect and without preconditions. This would meet the aspirations and interests of the peoples of the two countries, and would serve peace, stability, cooperation and development in the region and throughout the world.

Viet Nam still has tens of thousands of people missing since the war, and their remains have yet to be found; and millions of war victims need help. We are deeply sympathetic towards the sentiments of American families whose loved ones went missing in the Viet Nam war, and have cooperated, are cooperating and will continue to cooperate actively with the American Government and people on the missing-in-action question. We consider this a purely humanitarian issue.

I am confident that the goodwill and conscience of the American and Vietnamese peoples, together with the immediate and long-term interests of the two countries, will soon prevail over the existing obstacles so that relations between the two countries can be normalized.

Allow me to conclude my statement with the hope that the United Nations will rise to the challenge of seizing the opportunities and surmounting the challenges so that it truly becomes an institution to which all Member States entrust their aspirations and in which their views are heard and their actions coordinated. For its part, Viet Nam, in its efforts towards renewal, development and integration with the international community, will always be a positive factor for peace, national independence and social progress, and a sincere and reliable cooperation partner in the region as well as in the world.

Mr. SEY (Gambia): May I at the outset congratulate Ambassador Insanally on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. His long and rich experience makes him suitably qualified to preside over this session. I can assure him that he will enjoy the full support and cooperation of my delegation in carrying out his mission.

I should also like to take this opportunity to extend to his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, my heartfelt congratulations on the efficient manner in which he presided over the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

Let me also take this opportunity to pay a special tribute, once again, to our Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the high quality of leadership he is providing to our Organization.

It is encouraging to note the growing membership of the United Nations each year. It is, in the words of the Secretary-General, an explosion in United Nations membership. I should like to extend, on behalf of the Gambia and on my own behalf, sincere congratulations to Eritrea, the Principality of Andorra and the Principality of Monaco on their admission as Members of the United Nations. It is our fervent hope that they will not only be able to realize their national aspirations but also contribute to the positive fulfilment of mankind's hope for a better world.

It was with deep shock and sorrow that we learned of the devastating earthquake in parts of India. In this connection, I should like to convey the heartfelt condolences of the Government of the Gambia to the Government of India and the members of the bereaved families on the occasion of this catastrophe. We also commend the laudable efforts of the Government of India in coping with this massive disaster.

We are meeting this year against the background of renewed hope, following the significant developments in the Middle East and South Africa. Until recently, the Middle East crisis and the situation in South Africa posed a real threat to international peace and security. Today, however, it can be said with a high degree of certainty that in both cases the peace process is irreversible.

The other notable event of major international significance has been the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna last June. Coming soon after the end of the cold war and 25 years after the first International Conference on Human Rights, this year's World Conference

on Human Rights reflected the hopes and aspirations of teeming millions of human beings seeking new solutions, readjustments, changes and improvements to their conditions. In many ways, the World Conference on Human Rights symbolized the end of one era and the beginning of a new one with regard to the promotion and consolidation of a strong human-rights culture world-wide.

For us in the Gambia, the convening of the World Conference on Human Rights was a refreshing experience, given our long-established tradition in the protection and promotion of human rights. The Conference enabled us to strengthen our resolve to continue to uphold these much-cherished values.

In reviewing the outcome of the World Conference on Human Rights, my delegation is pleased with the adoption of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, which will serve as a human-rights blueprint for the next century. I would urge the Assembly to consider and approve the document. We regret, however, the failure of the Conference to agree on the setting up of the office of high commissioner for human rights. My Government continues to give its strong support to this proposal, as we are convinced that the office, if created, would facilitate greater coordination of United Nations efforts and provide a more prompt and effective response to critical cases of gross violations.

The issue of human rights, however, needs to be addressed fully in all its composite parts. Political and civil rights go hand in hand with economic, social and cultural rights. Such problems as poverty, hunger, and illiteracy that have characterized developing countries constitute a serious threat to stability and respect for political rights in these countries. As my President, Sir Dawda Jawara stated at the Conference in Vienna in respect of political rights and the right to development,

> "We need to remind ourselves of the indivisibility and the interdependence of both rights and the necessity of giving equal attention and urgent consideration to both".

It is saddening to note that at a time when such internationally recognized values as democracy, human rights and rule of law are becoming the order of the day almost everywhere, some seemingly intractable conflicts in other parts of the world threaten to turn back the hands of time.

The situation in Somalia, which appeared to have improved only about a year ago, has suddenly deteriorated, generating cause for serious concern. My delegation is particularly alarmed by the dramatic turn of events resulting in the deaths of some members of the United Nations peace-keeping force and also of some Somalis. To the families of all these fallen servicemen and those of other innocent victims of the Somali conflict, we extend our heartfelt condolences. We very much regret these unfortunate incidents, but they should, no matter how tragic, neither dampen the enthusiasm nor weaken the resolve of the international community to assist the Somalis in their search for lasting peace and stability. Let us not forget now, in the heat of the moment, the very positive achievements of the intervention, which has made it possible to distribute food among a population that was suffering from one of the most horrendous forms of famine.

In the present circumstances the need for general and complete disarmament of all factions cannot be overemphasized, and this must be pursued with renewed vigour. I should like to appeal to the United Nations and, in particular, to the United States of America and all those other countries that have agreed to send troops to Somalia to continue their assistance so that peace and security can return to this troubled land.

We call on all the parties to the conflict to cooperate fully, to respect all the relevant Security Council resolutions and to implement without any further delay the Addis Ababa accord aimed at achieving national reconciliation.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina also constitutes a major preoccupation of the international community. Recent efforts to establish a credible and lasting peace in the country have yet to bear fruit. The failure, so far, to resolve the conflict and the persistent disregard of Security Council resolutions - in particular, resolution 713 (1991) - make the situation even more desperate. The Gambia deplores the continued Serbian aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It deplores the acquisition of territory by force, by means of the heinous practice of "ethnic cleansing" and other war crimes. My delegation is firmly of the view that if the international community is unwilling or unable to protect the defenceless Muslim population against Serbian aggression, it must be given the opportunity to defend itself in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which recognizes that peoples must be able to exercise their right of self-defence. We welcome the establishment of an international war crimes tribunal as a fitting response to the atrocities perpetrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In Angola, the fighting continues with unprecedented intensity and ferocity. We condemn the naked and brutal aggression by UNITA against the Government and people of Angola. The people of Angola, through the democratic process - whose principles are the very ones we have been proclaiming in this Hall - have given their verdict. Their decision must be respected, and the international community should provide all necessary support for action against any force that seeks to disregard or overturn it. We therefore welcome the recent decision of the Security Council to impose sanctions on UNITA.

This year - 1993 - has not been one just of conflict, turmoil and bloodshed. Very notable successes have been achieved in mankind's search for peace, and these augur well for the future.

With the conclusion of the Cotonou Peace Accord and the installation of a five-man Council of State to lead Liberia to democratic elections after six months, there is renewed hope of a peaceful and lasting solution to the Liberian conflict. We welcome the contribution of the Government of the United States of America to the United Nations Trust Fund, and we call on all other donor countries to contribute similarly so that additional peace-keeping forces may be speedily deployed in Liberia to ensure full implementation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peace agreement.

With respect to South Africa, there are now clear indications that the peace process is on track and that change is irreversible. My delegation welcomes the agreement reached in the multi-party negotiating forum to set up a Transitional Executive Council, following agreement on the date of the first non-racial, democratic elections.

In this connection, we fully support the recent appeal of the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, that sanctions be lifted. The removal of sanctions would send to all parties a strong, positive signal that the rest of the international community will not be found wanting in support and encouragement for the difficult transition to a non-racial and democratic society. However, we regret the recurrence of violence, which, if it is not addressed satisfactorily, may have serious repercussions for the transitional arrangements. We therefore call on the South African authorities to redouble their efforts to stem the rising tide of political violence.

The recent breakthrough in the Middle East talks, evidenced by the deal between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) granting limited autonomy to the Palestinians in Gaza and in the city of Jericho, is a most welcome development. It constitutes a major step in the quest for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We extend our heartfelt congratulations to those in the leadership of the two parties for their courage and foresight in making even this limited success possible in a land often characterized by hate, mistrust and destruction. It is true that much remains to be done, but we are optimistic that the momentum generated by the Israeli-PLO agreement will be sustained and expanded to enable all parties to the conflict to strengthen their resolve in the search for a comprehensive and durable solution in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

While the recent developments between Israel and its Arab neighbours provide ground for much optimism, the situation between Kuwait and Iraq has failed to register similar progress. I call on the Government of Iraq to comply fully with United Nations resolutions and, in particular, to ensure the early release of Kuwaiti and other prisoners.

We have followed with keen interest the successful conduct by the United Nations of elections in Cambodia. We congratulate the Secretary-General and his staff, as well as all the countries that helped to bring stability back to Cambodia. We hope that the lessons of this exercise will be consolidated and will be applied to other trouble spots that may require the assistance of the United Nations.

The threat to world peace and stability emanates not only from armed conflicts but also from socio-economic factors. The global economic recession has led to worsening economic and social problems. Among the pressing economic difficulties that continue to face the developing countries is the problem of external debt servicing, which is one of the major obstacles to development. In sub-Saharan Africa, the debt stock has increased to $185 billion - equivalent to 110 per cent of that region's gross domestic product. As of today, one third of Africa's total export earning is paid to the developed countries in the North to service its debts. This situation cannot be allowed to continue. More than ever before, there is a need for a concerted and innovative international effort to find a permanent solution to the problem. It is our view that the international community - particularly the industrialized countries - has not given this problem the level of attention it deserves.

While Africa's indebtedness has continued unabated, its production output, in both agriculture and industry, has continued to decline. The combined negative effect is

aggravated by serious inflation, which has contributed to a steep decline in domestic savings and investment.

The international community's commitment to sustainable development in Africa can best be enhanced by encouraging increased direct foreign investment, as well as an increased international transfer of financial resources to the region. This is crucial to any long-term improvement in Africa's economic situation.

I should add that the removal of unfair trade practices would go a long way towards eliminating the need for aid. This is why we are anxious to see an early conclusion of the Uruguay Round, which we hope will address the thorny issue of market access, as this is of major concern to developing countries.

Finally on this issue we call on the United Nations to provide the necessary support for the successful implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s and the work of the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on African Economic Recovery and Development.

We welcome the initiative of the Japanese Government in convening the Tokyo International Conference on African Development and hope it will contribute to the mobilization of financial and technological resources much needed to ensure Africa's development.

In translating the spirit of Rio de Janeiro into action, the Gambia has already launched its Environmental Action Plan in order to address the serious environmental problems facing the country. Coming from a Sahelian country we remain particularly concerned about the continuous threat posed by drought and human actions to our fragile ecosystem. We welcome the setting up of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee and the commencement of the negotiation process for the drawing up of an international convention to combat drought and desertification particularly in Africa. The Gambia will continue to give full support to this Committee.

The success of our efforts to implement Agenda 21 and other programmes approved in Rio and adopted by the General Assembly will depend to a very large extent on the availability of funds and the commitment of our partners to share resources and encourage technology transfer to forge a truly global partnership between developed and developing countries in sustainable development.

In this connection we share the view that the Global Environment Facility (GEF) should be restructured to allow for the increased participation of developing countries in all its activities as well as for inclusion of desertification as one of the areas eligible for GEF funding. It is hoped that in phase II of the GEF there will be an expanded financial base to allow for greater and more rational disbursements.

It has now become established practice to convene summit meetings on issues of major concern to humanity. These summits provide an opportunity to arrive at a collective decision at the highest level on ways and means of resolving these difficulties. It is in this light that we welcome the World Conference on Population and Development and the World Summit for Social Development to be convened in 1995.

As we move closer to the end of this century, so is the United Nations moving closer to its fiftieth anniversary, signalling the maturity of our thoughts and the wisdom of our actions in seeking global peace and security. As the primary role of the United Nations is the maintenance of world peace and security, it becomes imperative in this post-cold-war era to prepare the world body to carry out its mandate as stipulated in its Charter, taking into account the prevailing international political climate.

In this connection my delegation notes with keen interest the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations. We welcome efforts to streamline and rationalize the work of the General Assembly at the level of both the plenary Assembly and the Main Committees. These efforts, it is hoped, will strengthen the decision-making role of the General Assembly and enhance its effectiveness and efficiency as the largest and most important organ of the United Nations system. Furthermore, the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council should be redefined and better coordinated.

As regards the reorganization of the Security Council, efforts should be made to ensure transparency in its work and activities. The Gambia would support any proposals for the reorganization of the Security Council on the basis of equitable geographical representation.

I wish to conclude by again expressing our faith in the capacity of the United Nations, strengthened in its authority and credibility, to face the many challenges that lie ahead.

Mr. GURIRAB (Namibia): On behalf of the Government and people of Namibia, I wish to extend our deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences to the Government and friendly people of India on the heavy loss of life and destruction of property that resulted from the devastating earthquake. I trust that the international community will give them a full helping hand.

Namibia welcomes all the newest Members of the Organization and assures them of its readiness to interact with them in the spirit of friendship and solidarity.

The President of the Assembly hails from a friendly country, Guyana, which did so much to spearhead the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, liberation and democracy. The Government and people of Guyana spared no effort in manifesting, in word and deed, their unswerving support for and solidarity with the Namibian cause in different world forums. I know all this because I have spent many years at the United Nations and during this time I visited Georgetown, his nation's capital, and other parts of Guyana on more than one occasion. The hospitality and camaraderie of his brotherly people always touched me very deeply. In his past and present incarnations in the service of his great country, he and I have collaborated on various issues of common interest. It is against this background of mutual friendship and solidarity, therefore, that I congratulate him most warmly on his brilliant election as President of this challenging session of the Assembly. His sterling stewardship is already so effectively manifest that the successful conclusion of our deliberations is assured.

I also wish to place on record our sincere appreciation to his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, for the effective leadership he provided last session.

Our illustrious Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has since his appointment been spearheading an effective and innovative global campaign aimed at streamlining and strengthening the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping operations and in economic and humanitarian issues. His "Agenda for Peace" has provided a useful framework for discussing these and other pressing issues relating to the maintenance of world peace and security. Namibia commends the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts.

On the threshold of a new millennium, and as we are about to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is an appropriate time to reflect and take stock. This is a period of great hope and confidence in the efficacy of the United Nations. New vision and foresight are thus called for; bold and imaginative decisions are required.

At its forty-seventh session the General Assembly, in resolution 47/62, on the "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council", recognized that in the changing global situation there was a need to reorganize, revitalize and democratize the Security Council. The end of the cold war has created new expectations that the Security Council will take on larger responsibilities and a greater role in the maintenance of international peace and security. But if the Security Council is to be a credible organ of the United Nations, it must fulfil these expectations of a changing and demanding world. It is with this in mind that the "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council" should be addressed. Changes towards a more representative Council would, no doubt, enhance its credibility, legitimacy and authority.

Namibia supports the view that the membership of the Security Council should be increased and more permanent and non-permanent members added, taking into consideration equitable geographical representation. Africa itself needs an effective presence on the Council, as do Asia and Latin America. The outmoded and undemocratic veto power should be abolished altogether.

Likewise, there is a compelling need for the restructuring of other organs, such as the General Assembly itself and the Economic and Social Council. The member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, working in close partnership with the Group of 77, should involve themselves fully in the ongoing discussions on the restructuring of these vital organs of the United Nations.

Today we are witnessing a new phenomenon in international relations, characterized by a sense of consensus deriving from shared interests, in which the credibility and centrality of the United Nations in dealing with global conflicts has been greatly enhanced. Indeed, we have witnessed the Organization fulfilling its mandate in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security.

We in Namibia believe that now is the opportune moment to establish a new role and purpose for a conflict-resolution mechanism which is appropriate to the post-cold-war era and to the needs and aspirations of succeeding generations. The renewed commitment towards conflict resolution must be transformed into a realistic programme of action, relating to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking,

peace-keeping and peace-building. Humanity is yearning for a peaceful, just and prosperous world. On this score, Namibia envisages a meaningful partnership and enhanced cooperation between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity in the field of conflict resolution and humanitarian relief operations in Africa.

Now more than ever, much is expected of the United Nations in the area of conflict resolution. The Organization has a golden opportunity to ensure that those expectations which "We the peoples" set forth in the Charter, are met by further enhancing its effectiveness.

It is an accepted fact that peace and stability are necessary, albeit not sufficient, conditions for economic development. Therefore, peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building should go hand in hand with economic development.

For peace-keeping operations to be effective, Member States should pay promptly their assessed contributions to the regular budget and to peace-keeping operations. In this context, we support the establishment of the reserve fund aimed at improving the start-up financing of peace-keeping operations.

In Cambodia, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) accomplished its task satisfactorily. Namibia was happy to have contributed polling officers and a staffed contingent of reinforced vehicles, called wolves, to UNTAC. We did this because it was, after all, in Namibia that a United Nations peace-keeping operation scored its first large-scale victory. Namibia will favourably consider participation in future United Nations peace-keeping operations.

Unfortunately, other peace-keeping operations have not as yet achieved the same positive results. It is our hope that the United Nations will continue to help resolve the conflicts in Somalia, Angola, Rwanda, Liberia, Mozambique, Haiti and Bosnia and Herzegovina, among others.

With regard to Angola, Mr. Savimbi's rejection of last year's election results was a major set-back. It has plunged that sister country further into a most horrible human tragedy. The horrendous carnage there continues to claim about 1,000 innocent lives a day. It is further reported that from 2 million to 3 million innocent Angolans are at risk of dying of either direct or indirect effects of this senseless war.

The international community must exert concerted pressure on Mr. Savimbi to accept the will of the Angolan people without any further delay. What is now expected of Mr. Savimbi is the speedy implementation of the Bicesse Accords, the relevant Security Council resolutions, the Abidjan Protocol and last year's election results, which, taken together, provide the framework for resuming negotiations with the Angolan Government.

It is the view of the Namibian Government that the resumption of negotiations should lead to an early cease-fire, which will allow the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the suffering Angolan people, reconciliation and consolidation of the Government of National Unity.

To this end, and in the face of Mr. Savimbi's persistent intransigence, the Security Council had no other alternative but to impose sanctions against UNITA. Namibia, therefore, supports Security Council resolution 864 (1993) which, *inter alia*, calls for the prohibition of all sale or supply to UNITA of arms and related *materiél* and military assistance, as well as petroleum and petroleum products, and urges all Member States to implement these measures. We believe also that if UNITA continues to flout Security Council resolutions, additional forms of punitive sanctions should be imposed.

Concerning the situation in Somalia, Namibia supports the United Nations peace-keeping operation there. My delegation holds the view that disarming the various factions would allow the people of Somalia to build genuine bridges of reconciliation and bring about the restoration of a civil society.

Under the present circumstances, and in spite of provocations by General Aidid's faction, the United Nations Operation in Somalia should continue to carry out its mandate. Our hearts go out in sympathy to all those countries whose nationals, including innocent Somalis, have made the supreme sacrifice in the service of the United Nations and human brotherhood. Any precipitous withdrawal, however, would be to the detriment of innocent Somali people and is likely to reverse the whole process. This should not be allowed to happen.

In Mozambique, we are encouraged to note that the cease-fire continues to hold and that the process appears to be moving forward. I can hardly overemphasize that it is absolutely imperative for elections to be conducted in an atmosphere of peace, trust and cooperation - and this means that the armed forces must first be confined to base and

demobilized, in accordance with the General Peace Agreement agreed to last year by the two parties.

Namibia welcomes with satisfaction the recent encouraging developments that have taken place in South Africa. For the first time in the history of that neighbouring country, all the people of South Africa will finally participate in a free and democratic election on 27 April next year. We would like, nevertheless, to urge all the people of South Africa to ensure that this process remains on course, and we call upon all the parties to participate in the work of the Transitional Executive Council. In the same vein, we call upon them, with the assistance of the international community, to put an immediate end to the ever-escalating violence. Violence and the ballot box do not go together.

Namibia, along with the other members of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity, supports the call made by the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, to lift all remaining economic sanctions against South Africa. Namibia further supports the lifting of the oil embargo after the establishment and commencement of the work of the Transitional Executive Council, as well as the establishment or restoration of full diplomatic relations with South Africa, following the installation of an elected Interim Government of National Unity, pursuant to democratic elections next year.

The Middle East, the cradle of some of the world's major religions, has witnessed bloody conflicts for the greater part of this century and has been on the agenda of the United Nations since its inception. Namibia welcomes the historic breakthrough represented by mutual recognition and the declaration of principles signed between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and the city of Jericho. Despite their long enmity, the leaders of the State of Israel and the PLO summoned the political courage to embrace peace. We can only hope that the historic handshake between Mr. Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel, and Mr. Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, will usher in a new era in that region.

Granted, this is only a first step, but it constitutes a firm basis for building a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. However, for this undertaking to succeed, the infusion of large-scale and sustained international financial and humanitarian assistance is required.

Encouraged by the historic and momentous breakthrough in the Middle East and the positive developments in South Africa, and also taking into consideration the emerging climate in favour of rapprochement in inter-State relations, we believe that the time has now come for the leaders of the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba to travel the short distance of 90 miles to reconciliation and peaceful coexistence. We are convinced that this can be done in the interest of the children of the two countries, who, like those of South Africa, Israel and Palestine, hope for a peaceful and brighter future.

Peace and stability in the Middle East are critically important not only to that region but also to the world as a whole. In this context, Namibia associates itself with Security Council resolution 833 (1993) of 27 May 1993, dealing with the territorial integrity of Kuwait and inviolability of its borders. We reiterate our full support for the right of the people of Kuwait and its Government to defend their sovereignty and independence. Namibia is a small State, and we understand the predicament of small States.

During the last session, I updated this august Assembly on the progress made in our bilateral negotiations with the Government of South Africa on the issue of the transfer and reintegration of Walvis Bay and the Offshore Islands into Namibia. Today, I am happy to report that the matter has finally been resolved. On 28 February 1994, the transfer and reintegration of Walvis Bay and the Offshore Islands into Namibia will take place. This will, at last, mark the completion of the decolonization of Namibia and the unification of our nation. I take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the Member States for their consistent support, over the years, of Security Council resolution 432 (1978) on Walvis Bay. I would also like to thank, in particular, the South African Multi-Party Negotiating Forum for adopting an important resolution which speeded up this process.

The Rio Earth Summit marked an historic turning-point in the long struggle to increase international awareness about the true nature of the global environmental crisis. The Summit effectively moved a long way towards a better understanding of how future economic development is inextricably linked to sound policies aimed at promoting and protecting the environment.

To this end, and in line with the provisions of our Constitution, Namibia has launched a countrywide programme of tree planting to prevent further deforestation and degradation of the environment. Naturally, Namibia, like the other developing countries, is anxious to see generous financing and implementing of Agenda 21.

Let me now turn to the socio-economic problems we are facing today. Despite the promise world leaders made to children at the World Summit for Children here in New York in 1990, education, health, water, shelter and food security remain inaccessible to millions of children in the developing world - and Namibia is no exception.

In Africa, problems of hunger, malnutrition, disease, and so on, continue to thwart the commitment we made last year at Dakar during the International Conference on Assistance for the African Child, to place children first. In furtherance of this commitment, and convinced that the problems of the Namibian children can be addressed only in a comprehensive manner, we have already integrated the National Programme of Action on children into the overall National Development Plan. This National Development Plan constitutes the basis for social and economic development in Namibia. In this context, primary health care, education, provision of water and rural development are among the priorities of our National Development Plan.

The 20/20 Vision programme we adopted at Dakar must be implemented if we are to achieve tangible results by the year 1995, when we shall review progress made since the 1990 World Summit, including in particular the fate and welfare of those children engulfed in war situations.

The recent World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna has further exposed the unmitigated violence and other forms of injustice being perpetrated against women throughout the world. The Namibian Constitution contains specific provisions on protection of the rights of women and promotion of their welfare. Furthermore, Namibia is a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

It is against this background that we in Namibia have taken measures to raise women's awareness of their rights by translating this Convention into indigenous languages. In the same vein, we applaud the appointment of the Special Rapporteur to study the issue of violence against women. It is with this in mind that Namibia looks forward to the Fourth World Conference on Women, in anticipation that its decisions will further advance the cause of women in the world, especially in Africa.

These are some of the many concerns on the social agenda of all nations. Thus to us, the appointment of a United Nations commissioner for human rights makes much sense, and we support the idea. At the same time, we would like to urge everyone to ensure that the mandate and status of such a high-level international civil servant should be considered carefully and realistically.

In order to meet the acute shortages of housing, the Government has embarked upon a programme to provide adequate housing to the Namibian people by the year 2000. In recognition of this national effort, Namibia was awarded the Habitat Scroll of Honour for 1993 for our National Housing Programme, called "Build Together". This award was received by my distinguished colleague, the Honourable Mrs. Libertine Amathila, Minister of Local and Regional Government and Housing, two days ago. I would like to echo the words of my colleague by thanking Habitat for this outstanding honour.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate my Government's belief that the United Nations, as a unique international body, can live up to its lofty ideals of creating a peaceful, secure and just world for us and for generations to come. To this end, Namibia pledges its total commitment.

The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this meeting. A number of representatives have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply, and I shall call on them now.

I remind members that statements made in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second intervention, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. GUILLEN (Peru) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Yesterday, 5 October, the Foreign Minister of our sister Republic of Ecuador, Mr. Diego Paredes Peña, made a statement in which he rightly made extended reference to the cordial relations between our two countries and to recent initiatives by the Governments of Peru and of Ecuador in their shared desire to broaden the ties binding the two countries for the good of the development of our two peoples and to bring them closer together.

My Government fully agrees with the comments made by Foreign Minister Paredes, for we too are motivated by a desire for an improved climate of respect, cooperation and friendship between our two countries. Such a climate should enable us to deal in a unified way with the rich array

of issues and tasks that go to make up the relationship between two peoples bound by history, geography and culture.

My Government wishes also to stress its devotion to peace and to respect for the international legal order, as reflected in its faithful and unflagging adherence to the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. For that reason, the Government of Peru cannot but agree completely that any difference or controversy should be resolved by peaceful means as recognized and prescribed in international law.

In that connection, the President of the Republic of Peru, Mr. Alberto Fujimori, made a comprehensive proposal in November 1991 for friendship, cooperation and integration. By developing and implementing these purposes and principles and by conforming to the spirit of fraternal ties inspired by the 1942 Rio de Janeiro Protocol, that proposal aimed at establishing an interesting and beneficial working agenda for Peru and Ecuador with the aim of identifying once and for all the demarcation of the outstanding portions of our common border, of signing a treaty on trade and navigation on the Amazon and its southern tributaries, of achieving a broad agreement on border integration, and of arriving at agreements that would foster mutual trust and security.

In that context of cordial and beneficial relations, Peru has proposed deepened bilateral dialogue and direct talks between the two Governments. It is also prepared to establish machinery for coordination and consultation, which hitherto have been lacking. We are convinced that this diplomatic exercise will provide room for developments that should greatly promote closer communication between our two Governments. The bilateral instruments that link us provide for a system for the settlement of disputes, which several times has proven valid and effective in properly overcoming difficulties that have caused it to be invoked.

In accordance with the instruments, machinery and systems to which I have referred, Peru proposed to Ecuador the viable and appropriate procedure of jointly asking the countries guarantors of the 1942 Rio de Janeiro Protocol to have the Holy See appoint an expert to complete the demarcation of the outstanding segments of our common border.

In that same constructive spirit, which should prevail between two sister countries, Peru has always maintained that cooperation and integration between Peru and Ecuador should prevail in all the geographical areas the two countries share, from the Pacific and the Andes to the vast Amazon region - areas that give the relationship between Peru and Ecuador its special personality and characteristics. The new challenge of the twenty-first century is without doubt to devise a programme of sustainable development for the Amazon region. It is in implementing that programme that the two nations must find the *raison d'être* for their new ties. This would restore the historic association that existed between our two nations from pre-Columbian times to the birth of our Republics.

Hence, the Government of Peru was particularly pleased by the statement by the Foreign Minister of Ecuador that his country was renewing and reaffirming its determination to renounce the use or threat of use of force in relations with my country. We were pleased also because that statement is in complete accord with Peru's determination in this regard, in recognition of the bilateral and multilateral commitments binding the two countries, to consolidate a climate of *détente* and mutual trust and to develop a level of security that responds to our common desire to strengthen friendship and cooperation between our two nations.

The President of the Republic of Peru, Mr. Alberto Fujimori, took great pleasure in extending a warm invitation to the President of Ecuador, His Excellency Mr. Sixto Durán Ballén, to visit our country whenever the interests of consolidating friendship between Peru and Ecuador would best be served. It was with equal pleasure that we learned of President Fujimori's acceptance of the invitation to visit Peru, whose people and Government will reciprocate the appreciation and support that the noble people of Ecuador demonstrated to the President of the Republic of Peru during his official visit to Quito in January 1992.

Mr. EXARCHOS (Greece): A few days ago, the representative of Albania, exercising his right of reply in response to the statement of the Foreign Minister of Greece before the General Assembly, tried to dismiss our legitimate concern regarding the unsatisfactory situation of the large Greek minority in Albania, attributing our understandable concern to "extreme nationalism for electoral purposes". *(A/48/PV.13, p. 173)*

But the unacceptable treatment of the Greek minority has been highlighted in many reports of international bodies, very recently by the European Parliament, which, in a resolution adopted on 14 July 1993, called upon the Albanian Government to respect the cultural and religious rights of the Greek minority in Albania.

It is indeed regrettable that certain practices inspired and implemented by the previous communist regime continue to be applied by the present government, such as, for instance, the arbitrarily designated minority zones.

For its part, Greece, which scrupulously applies the norms and provisions of the basic documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on minorities, expects Albania to act in the same respectful manner, specifically with regard to educational and religious freedom.

Furthermore, the Permanent Mission of Albania circulated a press release, dated 4 October 1993, misrepresenting the content of a letter addressed by the CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Mr. van der Stoel, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Albania. Indeed, an inappropriate effort was made to present the views of the Albanian authorities regarding the treatment of the Greek minority as the conclusions and recommendations of the High Commissioner himself.

Greece, which from the beginning of the new era supported Albania in its first steps towards democratization and reconstruction, accepts the expression of Albania's gratitude in this respect and intends to be a friendly and supportive neighbour in the future.

At this point, I should like to mention that my country's humanitarian and economic assistance was not limited to the southern part of Albania only, but covered the central and northern part of it as well. May I add that the attitude and behaviour of the Albanian authorities towards the Greek minority will be a determining factor in our relations.

The Greek delegation took note of the commitment made before the Assembly by the Albanian Minister for Foreign Affairs that his Government

> "is determined to build a modern State and a civilized society, based on respect for the human rights of all strata of the population without exception or discrimination ... so that persons belonging to national minorities can assert their own national identity". (*A/48/PV.5, p. 154*)

We are looking forward to seeing those words followed by deeds.

Mr. KIM Jae Hon (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea wishes to express its regret at the fact that the Foreign Minister of Singapore, in his statement this morning, used impolite and immoral terms when referring to my country, terms improper to his official position.

My delegation strongly believes that such behaviour should not reoccur in this Hall.

Mr. HOXHA (Albania): The delegation of Albania will avail itself of the opportunity to respond to the statement made by the representative of Greece at a later stage in the general debate.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.